

GREENPEACE

M A G A Z I N E

WHO OWNS ALASKA?

GOVERNOR
WALLY
HICKEL'S
PIPELINE
DREAMS

► Green politics
in America

► Fishing the sea
lions to death

► Antarctica's
50-year reprieve





We have a confession to make: the term “environmental magazine” is an oxymoron. As we spread the word about increasing pollution and decreasing natural resources, we too create pollution and take resources—in the form of ink and paper—and send them to your mailbox. We have tried to minimize our impact—as have many magazines—by printing on recycled paper. But the more we learn about the pulp and paper industry, the less we are convinced that recycled paper is the whole answer. We are more convinced that the industry is in need of serious reform.

For one thing, much of the paper labeled “recycled” isn’t. Paper mills use the term loosely, to say the least. Recycled paper may include wood chips, wet pulp that falls off the presses, trimmings, sawdust and de-inked overruns. Mills have always used this stuff—it makes economic sense. But in recent years, with everyone wanting to appear “environmentally correct,” many have slapped on the recycled label. This kind of paper is called “pre-consumer,” as opposed to “post-consumer,” which is made from paper that was actually collected at recycling centers. Very little high-quality printing paper contains consumer waste. And sometimes, even if it’s labeled “post-consumer,” it may contain just 5 or 10 percent.

Many publishers are asking for magazine-quality post-consumer paper, but can’t get it. There’s a bottleneck at the five U.S. mills that de-ink high-grade paper. In addition, the financial incentive for paper mills to use de-inked fiber is underwhelming. Government subsidies still make it cheaper to cut down trees than to re-use paper fiber. Clearly, given the dwindling forests and the devastating ecological impact of clear-cutting, it’s time for consumers to pressure Congress to eliminate the subsidies.

But this is only one step. We also have to consider how fiber (that will eventually be recycled) is made in the first place. As it stands, virtually all paper fiber in America is bleached with chlorine.

We are proud to say that the paper for this issue of *Greenpeace Magazine* was made without a drop of chlorine. We wanted to get the chlorine off our pages because the chlorine-

BY JUDY CHRISTRUP

bleaching process creates an enormous amount of toxic water pollution. But, until recently, no paper mill in the United States could supply us with a chlorine-free stock. Our persistence paid off: We found a paper mill willing to work with us, willing to search with us for oxygen-

THIS ISSUE OF GREENPEACE

MAGAZINE WAS PRINTED

WITHOUT A DROP OF CHLORINE.

bleached pulp. Before this issue, only our cover was chlorine-free (and imported from Sweden). Now the entire magazine is chlorine-free.

The pulp and paper industry has an addiction to chlorine. This won’t change—at least not as long as it continues to invest in expansion rather than environmental improvements. Pulp and paper companies are hooked into a boom-bust cycle. Right now, they’re in the bust period. The “big guys” built too many mills, so they’re overextended. The resulting paper glut reduced profits by 32 percent in 1990. Still, sales of the top four companies amounted to more than \$41 billion. They could convert to oxygen-based bleaching if they wanted to.

Sticking with chlorine bleaching is crimi-

nal. Chlorine, when combined with heat and organic matter in the pulping process, produces deadly organochlorines, including dioxins. Pulp mills are among the dirtiest industries in the world. A moderate-sized U.S. mill dumps anywhere from 20 to 40 tons of chlorinated toxins into a river or lake every day. Organochlorines are so persistent in the ecosystem that simple bacterial action won’t break them down. And they build up in progressively higher concentrations as they move up the food chain.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) fails to protect us. It places no restrictions on the amount of organochlorines a mill can discharge. And instead of insisting that mills eliminate dioxin, EPA has allowed states to adopt dioxin standards up to 1,000 times less stringent than the federal standard.

People living downstream from the mills are forced to live with increased cancer risks. For example, residents of Maine are periodically warned about dioxins in the Androscoggin River, where James River, Boise Cascade and International Paper mills discharge their effluent. The state’s “fish advisory” says that no one should eat more than one fish per year from the river. In many other states, citizens are not even warned.

Poisoning our waterways is senseless, especially when there are other options. If whiteness is necessary for quality four-color printing, then scientifically proven alternatives like hydrogen peroxide, oxygen or ozone—

not chlorine gas, chlorine dioxide or sodium

hypochlorite—should be used. Many pulp and paper products (for example, paper cups, milk cartons and coffee filters) need not be bleached at all. As soon as consumers begin equating chlorine-bleached bright white paper with cancer—not cleanliness—we will be over a major hurdle.

As far as paper-buying is concerned, doing the right thing isn’t easy—it means understanding complex issues. But the complexity of the issues shouldn’t discourage us. The more we learn about the way things work, the more powerful the environmental movement becomes. For our part, we will continue to get the word out on the most environmentally friendly paper we can find. □

GETTING THE WORD OUT



GREENPEACE



Company town, Sitka, Alaska.

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HOW TO READ THIS MAGAZINE

Publishing this magazine is a poor substitute for visiting everyone in the United States and Canada and explaining what counts in the age of environmental crisis. It is designed to anger, enlighten, enthuse and make possible action at the individual level. Please take advantage of it, write the letters, use it as a resource to educate others, including your local newspaper and organizations. If you want to reprint something, just ask. After you are finished, save it or pass it on to friends, a doctor's

office, school, retirement home, library or coffee-house. As a last resort, recycle it. If your local recycler doesn't accept the cover, use it as gift wrapping paper.

Many diverse opinions and perspectives are presented in this magazine. They are not necessarily the "official" Greenpeace position.

This magazine is made of paper that is bleached using an oxygen-based process. We use it to make a point: Almost all paper in the United

States and Canada is bleached with chlorine, creating dioxin-laden chlorinated pollution. The paper we use is safer and cleaner. Using it is a small but significant step toward our ultimate goal: the exclusive use of post-consumer recycled paper that, when necessary for high quality, is bleached using a non-polluting technology. We are also testing vegetable-oil-based inks. If you want to know more, write us at Greenpeace Magazine, Paper Department, 1436 U Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 USA.



SAVE THE ACT—AND SCUTTLE IT

WITHIN THE NEXT CENTURY, WE MAY ELIMINATE half the world's plant and animal species. One of the few legal obstacles to uncontrolled destruction of America's dwindling wildlands is the Endangered Species Act (ESA). This year, the pavers and clearcutters and their allies in Congress and the White House will be trying to dismantle the law. House Speaker Tom Foley has said the act is too rigid; Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan has wondered if "we need to save every subspecies"; T.S. Ary, the head of the U.S. Bureau of Mines, has admitted he "does not believe in endangered species," and Senators Hatfield, Gorton and Packwood are organizing "God Squads" that will temper the act by incorporating economic considerations—essentially determining which species are to disappear in exchange for ensuring a healthy profit margin for their corporate constituents.

The Endangered Species Act (ESA) needs a most spirited defense—the forces seeking to destroy it are formidable. And eventually it needs to be replaced by something stronger. That this embattled, abused and ultimately flawed vehicle is our primary bulwark against the pavers and clearcutters suggests that it is time to look beyond it.

The ESA's chief deficiency is reflected in its title—by targeting the species, the law neglects its environment. In theory, you can be jailed for killing an endangered animal, but not for clearcutting its habitat. By acting as a front for habitat, the animal, and thus the act itself, are subject to undeserved political pressures. Just getting a species "listed" can take up to six years. For lack of a more comprehensive law, environmentalists are forced to wield the law as a form of diversion. The charismatic animals, such as eagles, owls and condors, are harnessed as vehicles for habitat protection—a logical strategy, to be sure, but it ends up crippling itself.

Back in 1986, many environmentalists feared listing the Pacific Northwest's famous spotted owl as endangered because of the pressure such a listing would put on the act. They were right—the congressional delegations of Oregon and Washington are mounting their attack on the ESA based on the demagogic claim that the conflict is between threatened logger families and romantic environmentalists with an undignified attachment to an owl. This characterization is, as Peter Raven says, a tribute to American gullibility, but it is also a tribute to the act's central weakness: the ESA substitutes a symptom, the decline of an "indicator" species, for the cause—the destruction of its habitat.

It is time to create, as some biologists have suggested, an Endangered Ecosystem Act, or even better, a Native Ecosystems Act. The former would focus on ecosystems, such as wetlands, that have been significantly degraded—say, 80 percent of their former range destroyed. The latter would do that and more, setting aside representative samples of all remaining types of domestic habitat. The political pressures against protection would still exist, to be sure, but the nation's dwindling wildlands would no longer have to be defended by straw men, or straw animals. The positions would be starkly outlined: biologically rich ecosystems, the product of thousands of years of nature's delicate handiwork, against the short-term profits of builders, logging companies, miners and the factory fishing industry.

Unfortunately, reform is a long way off. Don't mistake this appeal as a reason to drop support for the ESA. Indeed, the appalling rate of species extinction and habitat destruction require that all the tools at our disposal—from laws and regulations to demonstrations and direct actions—be used to their fullest.

Species are disappearing at roughly 100 times the rate they would without human disturbance. Please spread the word, to your elected representatives and to anyone who needs to hear it, that you will not tolerate any weakening of the laws that protect this country's endangered species and habitats. And let's begin the discussion of a new, stronger law.—*This article was produced by Greenpeace Action.*

THE UNCERTAINTY PRINCIPLE

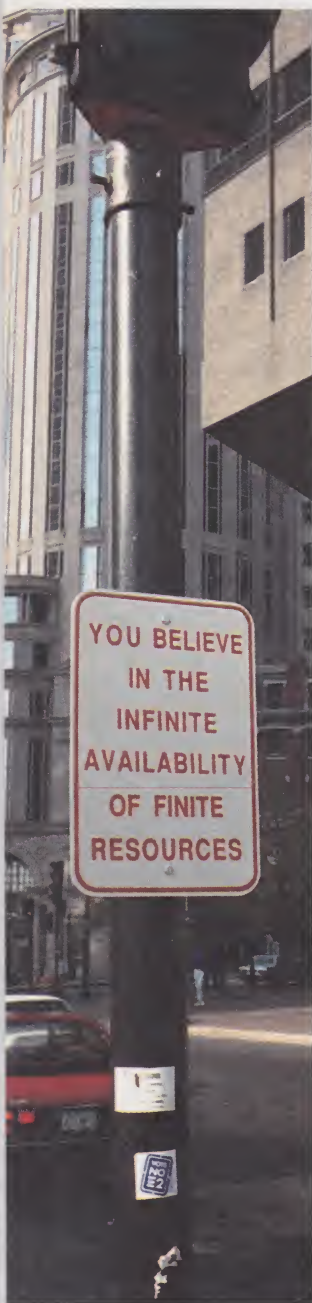
For years, George Bush and the Sununu crew in the White House have fended off efforts to deal with global warming and ozone depletion by arguing that scientific studies are inconclusive—that uncertainty warrants a "wait-and-see" attitude. But uncertainty cuts both ways. It is just as likely that the scientists are underestimating the threat facing the planet as overestimating it, and two recent studies bear this out.

In April, a new study revealed that the ozone layer is deteriorating at *twice* the rate previously believed. According to the United States Environmental Protection Agency, the number of cancer deaths due to ultra-violet radiation exposure over the next 50 years could jump more than *20-fold*, from roughly 9,000 to more than 200,000.

Years of pressure from the White House and chemical industry giants DuPont and Allied Signal, who have developed CFC "alternatives" that still destroy the ozone layer, have committed the United States to endorsing a

TRUISMS

Artist Christopher True fashioned this warning sign for pedestrians and drivers in Boston.





A FIRE IN AMERICA

global phase-out schedule that was wholly inadequate even before the new study came out. Now, Tennessee Senator Al Gore and 30 other senators have written to EPA Administrator William Reilly and the White House demanding an accelerated schedule.

Less well known but just as revealing is a new study published in *Nature* showing that the earth's ability to clean the atmosphere of methane, a potent greenhouse gas, is as much as 25 percent less effective than previously believed. Calculations of methane's contribution to global warming will be upped significantly, drawing into question the recent push for natural gas, particularly to run cars.

ON MARCH 12, GREENpeace's Toxics Campaign research director, Pat Costner, returned to her

rural Arkansas home and found it burned to the ground. Everything was destroyed, including the files, computers discs and library that comprised 20 years of work to protect the environment. Costner is a diligent and respected researcher, and obviously a threat to someone. When the investigation was completed, the report was unequivocal: While Costner was out, a person or persons broke into her house, poured gasoline over her life's work, and set it afire.

This is not an isolated incident, as much as we wish it were. Last fall, Ward Stone, a New York wildlife pathologist in the employ of the State Department of Environmental Conservation, discovered dangerous levels of toxic wastes at the site of a proposed shopping mall. Instead of thanking him for his defense of public health, Stone was denounced by the lieutenant governor for trying to "drive the developer crazy and undermine confidence in the community."

And when a bomb exploded last year in the car of two activists who are working to save old growth forests, the FBI announced the pair were to be prosecuted, against all the evidence, for carrying the bomb themselves. The FBI has since dropped the case for lack of evidence, and the real bombers remain at large.

We now live in a strange and chilling atmosphere—one in which, in some quarters, opposing the destruction of wildlands and the

poisoning of our children is considered subversive. This atmosphere is fueled by corporations and their friends in government who see environmentalism as a threat to business-as-usual, and sustained by a laconic legal atmosphere that has confused the exercise of our constitutional rights with criminality. As a consequence, attacks on environmentalists are increasing.

The focus of Costner's work of late was uncovering the deadly connection between public health and the growing toxic waste incineration business. Companies that are trying to site incinerators on Native American land, and the owners of the old cement kilns that are allowed to burn waste under U.S. law are among the businesses that are not displeased to see her work crippled.

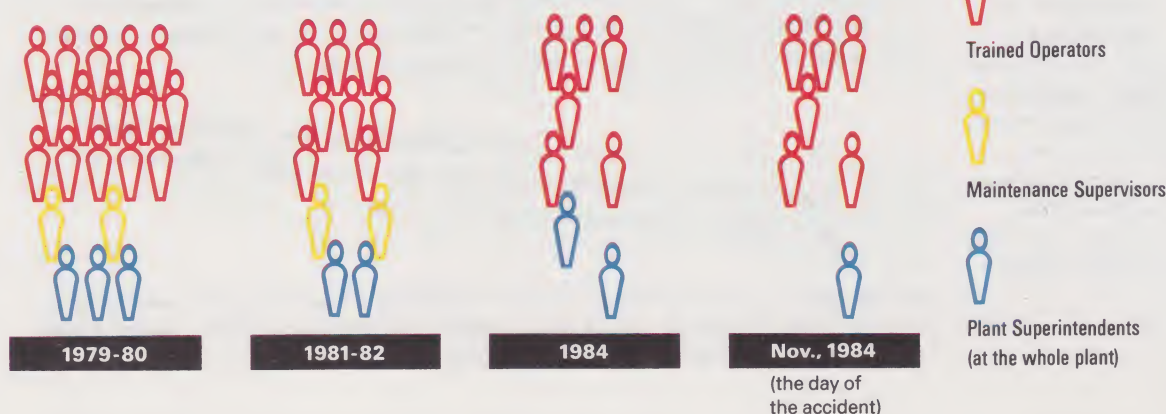
We may never find out who did this to her, but we can fight the atmosphere of hate and divisiveness, as well as protect ourselves and our friends. Species and habitat diversity and the elimination of toxic pollution are in all our interests, a fact that must be repeated as often as possible to counter the disinformation spread by corporate interests. And we can document the ongoing persecution of environmentalists to make clear that, like racism, it is intolerable in the United States. If you are familiar with an activist who is the victim of verbal or physical attacks as a result of his or her work, or if you have information about who destroyed Pat Costner's home, please write to the Greenpeace Activist Harassment File, 1436 U Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

GRAPHIC NEGLECT

Chemical giant Union Carbide quietly dismantled its safety program at the infamous MIC plant in the five years leading up to the accident in Bhopal, India, that killed more than 3,000 people and injured upwards of 500,000. Now the company is trying to push through a settlement that gives the victims \$470 million—or some \$800 each—at a cost of 50 cents a share for company stockholders. To help buy land for a community center that will help coordinate voluntary relief from around the world, you can send donations to Bhopal Victims Rehabilitation Fund, Suite 9A, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017; 212-953-6920.

RETREAT FROM SAFETY

The Decline of Safety Personnel at Union Carbide's MIC Plant in Bhopal, India



Source: The Bhopal Action Resource Center

CIRCLING THE WAGONS

One P.R. Firm's Offensive Strategy

From a 60-page memo entitled "Crisis Management Plan" from Ketchum Public Relations to the Clorox Company advising on how to counter "worst-case scenarios" for environmental issues "which hold potential for presenting a public relations crisis" for the company. The memo was leaked to Greenpeace campaigner Shelley Stewart.

1) Greenpeace's campaign in the United States targets only the pulp and paper industry, one of the main sources of deadly chlorinated pollution in the United States.

2) In other circles, it's called "job blackmail," the classic corporate strategy of hiding lousy environmental policies behind legions of "threatened" employees. "Industry generates grassroots letters to legislators" sounds a bit like Chicago politics, where, when threatened, the party apparatus can always count on high voter turnout from the deceased.

3) Nothing better, from a public relations point of view, than having "scientists" on your side. They are easy to get—just pay them and they generally will come up with conclusions that suit your agenda. The Chlorine Institute, which is the PR and lobbying arm of the chlorine industry, has several scientists on the payroll. The institute made headlines last October by announcing that a "consensus" had been reached among a number of scientists that dioxin is less dangerous than previously believed. Only it wasn't true. Several of the scientists complained of being "manipulated." But hey, that's public relations.

The Issue: Greenpeace has announced a worldwide effort to rid the world of chlorine by 1993 — Chlorine Free by '93, they call it. Greenpeace is well known, both for its dramatic campaigns, often associated with violent tactics, and with spurious research, generated more for its shock value and fund-raising appeal than its scientific utility.

Greenpeace Strategy: Wherever possible, ignore it and don't give it credence. Carefully develop messages, based on research, to help people understand that Greenpeace is not among the serious players in this issue. Make available to media specific evidence of phoney Greenpeace research.

Enlist the support of the union and the national union leadership, since jobs are at stake.

Industry association (Chlorine Institute?) advertising campaign: "Stop Environmental Terrorism," calling on Greenpeace and the columnist to be more responsible and less irrational in their approach.

Objective: Working with other manufacturers and the Chlorine Institute, 1) forestall any legislative or regulatory action pending further review of the NTP report and subsequent human and animal studies; and 2) Maintain customer and consumer loyalty.

Third-party scientific spokespeople are prepared to cast doubts on the methodology and findings of the report and suggest that, at worst, chlorine may be a weak carcinogen in some laboratory animals, but there is no evidence that it is a human carcinogen at all.

Conduct research to determine if and how a slander lawsuit against the columnist and/or Greenpeace could be effective.

Worst Case Event: The final NTP study analysis concludes that chlorine is, indeed, an animal carcinogen. On the same day of the NTP study announcement, Greenpeace holds a satellite news conference in Washington, New York and San Francisco to launch a concerted campaign to eliminate all uses of chlorine in the United States.

In light of U.S. regulatory policy, a link with cancer — even if it is a "weak" link as a possible animal carcinogen — could trigger public concern and harsh regulatory action against this important chemical.

(Ketchum Advertising and Public Relations, one of the nation's largest, advises dozens of firms, including Clorox and Dow Chemical. The Clorox Co., based in Oakland, California, manufactures Clorox washing products, as well as Combat and Max Force insecticides and Pine-Sol cleaning products.)

4) Anti-environmental public relations requires a judicious choice of words. The general rule, well-represented here, is that polluting corporations are "responsible, balanced, and accurate." Environmentalists are emotional, violent and irrational. The latest twist is to call environmentalists "terrorists."

5) Having "third-party" scientists ready to "cast doubts on the methodology and findings" is classic corporate behavior, although you rarely see the technique laid out this frankly. Leave it up to a PR firm to describe so graphically what environmentalists have charged for so long: Corporations use scientists to give a veneer of legitimacy to policies that often sacrifice public health for profits. Unfortunately, the technique works. Engaging in disputes over methodology and other "scientific" obfuscations can delay or defeat regulatory action, in part because polluting the American environment is considered legal until it is proven harmful. And proof is almost impossible to get. Even dioxin can be made to look relatively benign with some good PR work.



ONLY A BAN WILL DO

FOR TWO YEARS, GREENPEACE ACTION HAS called on its supporters to ask Congress to stop the international waste trade. Rep. Edolphus Towns (D-NY), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, is taking the right action by introducing a bill to ban—not just control—U.S. participation in the international waste trade. Please write to your members of Congress and ask them to support the Towns Bill on waste trade and NOT to support any other bill that seeks to merely limit or control waste trade.

LEAD HAZARD

THE VIRGINIA-BASED ETHYL CORPORATION has announced plans to double production of a lead gasoline additive at its plant in Sarnia, Ontario, for export. The coalition that successfully lobbied to get lead out of Canada's gasoline is opposing the plan, but the government has not taken a position yet. Please let the Ontario and Canadian environment ministries know that you think it's immoral to export a product that causes lead poisoning in urban children and is too dangerous to use in Canada. Write to Ruth Greer, Minister of the Environment, 135 Saint Claire Avenue West, 15th Floor, Toronto, Ontario M4V1P5; and Jean Charest, Minister of the Environment, 10 Wellington St., TDLC, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H3.

NEW CAMPAIGN

IN APRIL, GREENPEACE ACTION LAUNCHED its endangered forests campaign, which is working to stop the destruction of ancient and native temperate forests, particularly those found on public lands. Write to the following congressional leaders: Rep. Thomas Foley, speaker of the House; Rep. George Miller, chair of the Interior Committee; Senator Patrick Leahy, chair of the Agriculture Committee; and Senator Bennett Johnston, chair of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee. Ask them to provide leadership for the toughest, most comprehensive forest-protection legislation possible; ask them to sponsor the Native Forest Protection Act and the Northern Rockies Ecosystem Protection Act; and tell them that we can't afford to lose another acre of ancient or native forest.

FIT FOR PASSAGE

SENATOR PATRICK LEAHY (D-VT) AND REP. Michael Synar (D-OK) have introduced The Circle of Poison Prevention Act of 1991 (S. 898 and H.R. 2083). If passed, the bill will prohibit the export of pesticides that are not registered for domestic use or do not have a residue limit; permit foreign governments to refuse to import particularly hazardous pesticides; allow citizens to file lawsuits against violators of the law; revoke tolerances for residues on U.S. food of pesticides no longer registered in the U.S.; and require EPA to educate foreign governments about non-chemical pest-control and sustainable agriculture. Urge your representatives in Congress to support the bill without weakening it, and send a copy of the letter you write (and any responses) to the Circle of Poison, Greenpeace Action, 1436 U St., NW, Suite 201A, Washington, DC 20009.

UNCLE SAM, TOO

THE FEDERAL FACILITIES COMPLIANCE ACT (FFCA) would allow the EPA and individual states to enforce RCRA (see right) at federal facilities. Senator George Mitchell (D-ME) and Representative Dennis Eckart (D-OH) introduced FFCA last year in response to reports of massive illegal dumping and contamination at military installations run by the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy. It passed the House twice, but was held up in the Senate by strong opposition from Senator Bennett Johnston (D-LA) and the Bush administration. Tell your congressional delegation to support FFCA (S. 596 and H.R. 2195), which has been reintroduced this year, and demand that Uncle Sam play by the rules.

YES! TOUR

YOUTH FOR ENVIRONMENTAL SANITY (YES!)—a group of six 17- to 20-year-olds—is touring the country to empower young people to help save the planet. YES! has also created a *Student Action Guide* to help students start and maintain an effective environmental group. If you are interested in being part of a speaking tour, setting up a high-school-age network, bringing YES! to your community or ordering the guide (\$3.95), write to YES!, 706 Frederick St., Santa Cruz, CA 95062.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

COMMUNITIES OF COLOR ARE BEING TARGETED as sites for toxic dumps and polluting industries, galvanizing a thousands-strong environmental justice movement. Panos Institute's new publication—*We Speak for Ourselves: Social Justice, Race and the Environment*—documents the marriage of the social justice movement and environmentalism. It is available for \$5.95 plus \$.90 postage from: The Panos Institute, 1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Suite 301, Washington, DC 20036.

WRITE ON WASTE

IN JUNE, ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISTS ACROSS the country kicked off their campaign to fix the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA)—the massive federal law that deals with garbage and hazardous waste—to make it more protective of people's health and the environment. RCRA is being reauthorized by Congress, so now is the time to get involved. Write to your senators and representatives and tell them that RCRA should promote real prevention of toxic contamination: bans and phase-outs of chemicals; a moratorium on hazardous and solid waste incineration; and progressive solid waste legislation that includes comprehensive recycling, composting and garbage reduction. For more information and a copy of the platform developed by Greenpeace Action, the National Toxics Campaign Fund, Clean Water Action and grassroots activist groups nationwide, write to the RCRA Campaign, Greenpeace Action, 1436 U St., NW, Suite 201A, Washington, DC 20009.



The Action Access section is paid for by Greenpeace Action. Greenpeace Action is a sister organization of Greenpeace USA that promotes environmental protection and disarmament through grassroots organizing, education and legislation.



RIGHT WHALE, WRONG PLANET

LAST MARCH, A RARE NORTH ATLANTIC right whale washed ashore on Florida's northern coast, killed by a skull-crushing collision with a boat. The corpse was also tangled in a section of fishing net called a gillnet; apparently the stricken whale had dragged the net for at least six months before its death.

The fate of this right whale underscores the combination of threats faced by the North Atlantic right whale, one of the most endangered whales in the world. (The right whale got its name because it is big, slow and placid, thus making it the "right" whale to kill.) Roughly 300 of the whales remain alive despite a ban, in place for nearly 50 years, on commercial whaling of the species.

Run over by humans



The New England Aquarium houses a collection of photographs of the right whale, used in tracking and identifying its dwindling population. Nearly 60 percent of the photographs show signs of entanglement with fishing gear, and one of every ten living whales apparently survived a collision with a boat. According to Scott Kraus, a member of the government-appointed Northern Right Whale Recovery Team, such "human-induced factors" may account for the species' inability to recover from the early years of indiscriminate hunting.

CLIMATE CONFLICT

WHEN NATIONS FINALLY AGREE TO CUT BACK significantly on greenhouse gases, whose gases count most? The question is of more than academic interest as negotiations begin on a convention on climate change in which nations presumably will accept responsibility

for reducing their greenhouse gas emissions. The debate thus pits the copious industry-related releases of the industrialized world against present and future gas emissions of the nations in the South, a large portion of which are part of people's daily survival activities.

The question simmered behind the scenes until March, when the World Resources Institute (WRI) released a study that essentially reversed conventional wisdom. By adding gases released during deforestation and agricultural activities, WRI's analysis put countries like Brazil, India and China at the top of the list of greenhouse culprits instead of at the bottom.

In the North, the study was received with relative equanimity—scientific treatises on global warming are piling up on bureaucrats' desks at a frenetic rate. But the reaction from the South was explosive. Charging WRI with "greenhouse imperialism," the New Delhi, India-based Center for Science and the Environment (CSE) issued a report attacking the study, arguing that it is immoral to equate the "luxury emissions" of American and European automobiles with "survival emissions" of the less industrialized world, such as methane from rice paddies and cows.

Recalculating WRI's numbers under a different scheme gives a decidedly different picture. According to CSE, if the natural CO₂ absorption ability of the earth's oceans is apportioned according to population, then India's greenhouse emissions rank near the bottom. And, according to Aubrey Meyer, coordinator of the London-based "Save the Forests, Save the Planet," if global emissions are cut by 60 percent, as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change says should be done, then a per capita apportionment of that 60 percent reduction would again recast India (with a population of 844 million) as one of the world's least significant contributors to global warming.

"What these WRI people don't understand," said CRE's Sunita Narain, "is that reports like these are taken as gospel by some people in government. Our counterarguments will never reach the public, particularly in the United States. If it is used as a basis for policy, WRI's study is criminal."

THE BENEVOLENT CORPORATION

From memos written by Pacific Lumber public relations director David Galitz to MAXXAM CEO Charles Hurwitz, Pacific Lumber CEO John Campbell and others (MAXXAM and Pacific Lumber are cutting down vast tracts of old growth forest in northern California).

"As soon as we find the home of the fine fellow who decked Greg King, he has a dinner invitation at the Galitz residence." (Environmentalist Greg King was punched and knocked down by a logger at a demonstration advocating protecting old growth forests.)

"Our Southern California sales people were kind enough to send the enclosed. It is so good, we had to share it. I may join if only to enjoy the writing style." (Enclosed was the Sahara Club Newsletter published by a California-based hate group that advocates violence against environmentalists. The issue announced the formation of a "special division—the Sahara Clubbers—" that would be issued "walking sticks the size of baseball bats" in order to "subdue... Earth First scum.")

Undaunted, Earth First! is sponsoring

• **What You Can Do:** The Recovery Team has petitioned the U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service to establish three areas as "critical habitat," which could reduce the human-caused hazards to the Atlantic right whale. Write to your congressional delegation, as well as to Dr. William Fox, Assistant Administrator of Fisheries, NMFS SSMC 1, Room 9334, 1335 East-West Highway, Silver Spring, MD 20910.



another Redwood Summer to protest the continued destruction of old growth forests while emphasizing sustainable lifestyles for communities in the Redwood region. For more information contact Earth First!, 106 West Standley, Ukiah, CA 95482; 707-468-1660.

WHOSE HANDBOOK?

In April, the Environmental Protection Agency stopped the presses on its popular "Environmental Consumer's Handbook," under pressure from lobbyists at the Food Service and Packaging Institute, the American Paper Institute, Scott Paper, the Sweetheart Cup Company and Procter & Gamble. Such common sense suggestions as substituting vinegar and water for potentially toxic cleaners and bringing a coffee cup to work were considered threatening by the industries and their lobbying arms. "Who is EPA answerable to?" asks Jeanne Wirka of Environmental Action, which uncovered the industry's strong-arm tactics. "Is it the public? Or the companies that make and sell throw-away products and toxic household cleaners?"

SILENCING THE OPPOSITION

SO SUCCESSFUL ARE LOCAL ACTIVISTS IN curbing the plans of major waste handlers that the industry is fighting back in the state legislatures. In 1989, with the backing of sympathetic legislators and the industry, Tennessee passed a law prohibiting towns and counties from refusing to take hazardous waste facilities, regardless of citizen referendums and zoning laws to the contrary. Since then, six waste facilities have been proposed for the state.

In 1990 in Illinois, Waste Management Inc. and a lobbying group called the Municipal League backed House Bill 4013, called a "package approach" to waste disposal. Part of the package was a provision stripping communities of veto power over siting decisions. Concerted opposition from Illinois' activist community stopped the bill twice, but few think the fight is over yet.

In Ohio, the pressure isn't coming just from waste handlers, but from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as well. EPA's Region 5 office wants Ohio to site more facilities. The one obstacle turns out to be the Hazardous Waste Facility Board, a citizen review board that includes a geologist, a chemical engineer and representatives from Ohio's Department of Water Quality and Department of Natural Resources. Region 5 has amended its original effort to abolish the board entirely and has called for dividing duties between it and the Region 5 EPA director, who would decide all operational issues.

In Pennsylvania, political pressure to site a hazardous waste facility is so high that its Department of Environmental Resources is employing an 11-year-old law that enables it to override local safety, health and zoning laws. But opposition is just as fierce. According to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, when Allentown found itself on a list of potential sites for the facility, membership in a local environmental group jumped from 20 to 13,000 in a matter of weeks.

THE CANCER CANNONBALL

TWO YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, A CSX TRANSPORTATION train derailed in Freeland, Michigan, and caught fire, dumping a variety of toxic chemicals into a suburban neighborhood and

forcing the evacuation of 3,000 residents. In May, the CSX saga ended when 2,400 tons of soil scraped up from the accident site were laid to rest in a toxic waste dump in Tooele County, Utah.

In between, a multi-car trainload of the material went on a multi-state odyssey reminiscent of the global voyage of the ash-laden *Khian Sea*, which was refused harbor in five continents before "losing" its cargo somewhere in the Indian Ocean. The toxic train, dubbed the "Cancer Cannonball" by activists, was pursued through Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia and North and South Carolina. Tom Adams of STORM (Stop Trashing our Resources in Michigan) chained himself to the train in Michigan and Ohio. Landfills in at least three states rejected the cargo, after which CSX attempted to keep the train's whereabouts a secret.

CSX and other railroads, such as Burlington Northern and Union Pacific, are getting into the toxic waste handling business. Due to the breadth and sophistication of environmental opposition on both coasts, waste handlers are being forced to search for dump sites in the Midwest, and rail is the cheapest transportation method. The Tooele County site where the Cancer Cannonball came to rest is owned by U.S. Pollution Control, Inc., a subsidiary of Union Pacific.

THE ANNALS OF PEST CONTROL

Percentage increase of U.S. pesticide use since 1940: 3,000

Percentage increase of potency of U.S. pesticides since 1940: 1,000

Percentage of U.S. crops lost to insects in 1940: 31

Percentage of U.S. crops lost to insects today: 37

Percentage decline in pesticide use in Sweden between 1985 and 1990: 50

Percentage decline in crop yields in Sweden between 1985 and 1990: 0

Greenpeace chases down the Cancer Cannonball in Sumter, South Carolina.



PHOTO: VISSER/GREENPEACE

W H O O W N S

ALASKA?

GOVERNOR HICKEL'S

PIPELINE DREAMS



WHILE WALTER J. HICKEL WAS SWORN IN AS ALASKA'S new governor in Juneau last December, a school choir serenaded the gathering with the song, "Share the Dream"—a song most Alaskans instantly recognized from regular television commercials as the ARCO Alaska theme song. The message was clear: Hickel's well-oiled political machine was up and running. And environmentalists were being given formal notice that the battle to open Alaska's majestic wilderness and sensitive coastlines to oil drilling had begun again, in earnest.

Twenty-one years ago, Hickel gave up the governor's office for a two-year stint as Nixon's secretary of the Department of the Interior (DOI). Five failed attempts later, "Wally" Hickel is back in Juneau, determining the fate of a state fully one-fifth the size of the Lower 48 and by far the richest in natural resources. Depending on your perspective, Hickel is a man transformed, or a political chameleon. He was once the people's Hickel, fired by Nixon for opposing the Vietnam war, and the champion of the common man in his 1972 populist treatise, *Who Owns America?* He is now Citizen Hickel, elite champion of the oil and timber industries, and arch-conservative ideologue in the tradition of Ronald Reagan and James Watt.

HICKEL UNNERVES MANY MORE SOBER OBSERVERS, INCLUDING some of his allies, with such grandiose and bizarre proposals as mining other planets, building an undersea pipeline to pump fresh water to California and using Star Wars technology to harness the energy of the aurora borealis. This Watt-like vision of nature (Watt got his start, in fact,

under Hickel, who made him his deputy assistant secretary at DOI), combined with a Reagan-like air of affable insouciance is reflected in the 71-year-old governor's stout denial of charges that his connections with Big Oil are too close or constitute a conflict of interest. His ties with oil, he insists, are above board and all part of his philosophy of "Alaska, the owner state."

But others are not convinced. Among their concerns is Hickel's pet project, an \$11 billion, 800-mile natural gas pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez. While in office, Hickel has promoted the pipeline company, Yukon Pacific Corp., in which he owns a 12 percent interest in a "blind" trust. If it is built as planned, Hickel, already a multimillionaire, stands to gain a \$10 million stock windfall. In response, environmental activist Chip Thoma has filed a complaint under the state's Executive Branch Ethics Act, charging that Hickel is using his office for private gain in a blatant conflict of interest.

The term "conflict of interest" may in fact be a misnomer in this case: in Hickel's political landscape, all interests are the same—namely, what's good for industry is good for Alaskans. Certainly, what's good for industry is good for state government: 85 percent of Alaska's government revenue comes from the oil and gas industry, and the industry fills a hefty percentage of the state's political campaign chests. Put in this context, Hickel's often stated view that government's role should be one of advocacy for development, not regulation over it, is only a reflection of the status quo.

So, perhaps, it should come as no surprise that Hickel

BY

DAPHNE

WYSHAM



has appointed to the sensitive position of commissioner of the Department of Natural Resources (a position that oversees management of all state lands including oil and gas leases) Harold Heinze, former ARCO Alaska president and former board member of Alyeska, a consortium of seven Alaskan oil companies formed to run the Trans-Alaska oil pipeline and its terminal at Valdez.

Heinze's interests have historically been aligned with Big Oil's—at public expense. Heinze attended a January 1988 meeting where it was decided that, to save money, Alyeska could not and would not respond to a major oil spill, despite the company's sworn congressional testimony to the contrary. Congressman George Miller (D-CA), chair of the House Interior Committee, charges that Alyeska “broke the law as well as its promises to the State of Alaska and Congress” in making such cutbacks, which contributed to the 1989 *Exxon Valdez* oil spill. Costcutting such as this, combined with a decline in enforcement of environ-

HICKEL'S FOLLY

The new governor's plans for Alaska include new pipelines, new roads and rail lines, and relaxed environmental regulations. In charge of preventing another *Exxon Valdez* is Harold Heinze, former president of ARCO Alaska, now head of Department of Environmental Conservation.

mental and safety regulations, was found by the National Transportation Safety Board to be a primary cause for the Exxon tanker's grounding.

Heinze, along with other Hickel appointees, is under indictment by the FDIC for allegedly participating as a bank board member in a lending spree that resulted in more than \$55 million in losses for Alaskan banks. ARCO Alaska is reportedly paying tens of thousands of dollars to defend Heinze.

To the post of commissioner of the Department of Environmental Conservation, Hickel has appointed John Sandor, a man despised by conservationists for his support of an environmentally destructive mining project near Juneau, for facilitating clearcutting of old growth forests in the Tongass rainforest (in his former capacity as chief forester under Ronald Reagan), and for leaking to Alyeska the newly drafted but unreleased state oil regulations.

Under Hickel, wildlife biologist Dave Kelleyhouse directs the state Division of Wildlife Conservation. Kelleyhouse (otherwise known as “Machine gun Kelleyhouse”) is infamous for nearly losing his job with the state when he requested that the state purchase him a machine gun to begin an aerial hunt for wolves in 1981. When the state denied his request, Kelleyhouse purchased a shotgun on his own, rounded up wolves in the eastern interior and systematically shot and killed them.

SOME ALASKANS ARE BEGINNING TO GRASP THE HERETOFORE murky concept of “Alaska, the owner state.” The less than 1 percent of Alaska that is privately owned, and as

much of public land as they can get their hands on, appears to belong to Wally Hickel and his unctuous cronies. For the next three years, Alaska will indeed be "Wally World."

Owning a state seems unfathomable in America in the '90s, but Alaska is a special case. Hickel's ability to institute his vision is reinforced by the unusual power vested in Alaskan governors, a legacy of the frustration the framers of the state's constitution felt in dealing with a remote Washington bureaucracy. Hickel has the power, for example, of the line item veto, a privilege Congress has denied the president of the United States. Because Alaska is young, basic governmental decisions regarding matters ranging from roads to social service agencies have yet to be cast in administrative concrete. Therefore, budget allocations take on as much power as the law itself. "No place else has the sort of resource battles we have," says Richard Fineberg, a budget and policy analyst with Alaska's two previous administrations. "And nowhere is there as much money at stake—in oil revenue or per capita state expenditures—as in the decisions of Alaska's governor and legislature."

Hickel has further reinforced his power by screening out non-like-minded individuals from his administration. He has hired a special administrator to perform a philosophical litmus test of government employees: Those who don't support the Wally World dream—in particular the dream of opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for oil drilling—may find themselves out of a job.

And he has the support of much of the state's media, which is dependent on oil money for much of its revenue. The *Anchorage Times*, Alaska's oldest daily newspaper, for example, was recently bought by Bill Allen, president of VECO, the largest oil field service company in Alaska.

✶ **What You Can Do:** Write your senators and members of Congress insisting they make the development of a comprehensive national energy strategy emphasizing conservation and efficiency an immediate priority, and ask them to tell DOI and MMS to cease all oil and gas leasing plans in Alaska's wilderness and coastlines.

OUT OF SIGHT

Hickel's \$5 million state public relations campaign promoting oil drilling in the Arctic as environmentally safe glosses over unregulated industry in and around Prudhoe Bay, where highly toxic drilling waste is routinely dumped onto the tundra and into the sea.

ARCTIC WATERS: NATIONAL SACRIFICE AREA?

Although the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge has been a primary focus in the debate over oil drilling in Alaska, it is beyond the refuge that the gravest danger lies: If President Bush and Energy Secretary James D. Watkins have their way, Alaska will bear the brunt of offshore oil drilling planned by the Department of the Interior (DOI) and advanced under the National Energy Strategy.

More than one-third of the nation's offshore oil lease sales lie off the coast of Alaska. The most ecologically sensitive areas are in the Beaufort and Chukchi seas, where 46 million acres are being put up for auction this summer by the Minerals Management Service as part of the DOI's outer continental shelf (OCS) 1987-92 plan. Four additional sales are planned for the Beaufort and Chukchi Seas in the new 1992-97 offshore drilling plan proposed by DOI.

The Beaufort and Chukchi Seas provide essential habitat to thousands of migratory and non-migratory

OIL'S IMPACT BEYOND VALDEZ

The *Exxon Valdez* spill is certainly the most notorious of Alaska's environmental tragedies. It is, however, not necessarily the worst. Oil tanker broker Charles Hamel alleges that toxic waste disguised as ballast water has been routinely dumped into Valdez harbor by Exxon tankers and barges entering Prince William Sound in violation of the Clean Water Act.

Erlene Blake, employed for six years by Alyeska at its ballast water treatment facility, recalls some evenings when she saw "ungodly water" being pumped into the sound. "Many nights we would wait until dark, and then run that water at full bore as fast as the equipment would run it because we couldn't process it quickly enough," she said. "When workers complained, management's standard answer was, 'It's in the mixing zone; when the tide comes in, no one will ever know.'"

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) does very little testing of the effluent from the ballast water treatment facility in Valdez, relying largely on Alyeska's own monitoring program. The so-called "mixing zone" where much of the chemicals are supposedly treated, is owned by Alyeska. Field studies near the mixing zone have shown multiple violations of Alaska's water quality standards. Many of the chemicals found "will not look like crude oil spilled on the water," says sedimentologist and Cordova fisherwoman, Dr. Riki Ott. But, she adds, their effects "can be much more devastating to natural populations over time than a single hit such as the *Exxon Valdez* spill."

Chronic exposure to toxic fumes is an ongoing problem for Alyeska workers and Valdez residents. Blake suffered severe benzene poisoning while working for Alyeska; her foot, which eventually became gangrenous as a result, had to be amputated. When she tried to push for environmental and safety reform measures,



animals, including the endangered bowhead and gray whales and a variety of fish and bird populations. The biological richness of the region compelled Russian biologist Savva Uspenski to name this zone the "Arctic ring of life."

Because of formidable weather conditions, including heavy ice, freezing fog, snow and total darkness for much of the winter, scientists know relatively little about the Arctic. For the same reasons, a blowout and/or a major oil spill is a virtual certainty. The industry has already admitted that "cleanup of an oil spill" is a contradiction in terms—that under the best of circumstances perhaps 15 percent of a spill can be recovered. A report by the Alaska Oil Spill Commission states that cleanup capability in the Arctic is "bleak."

Some of the most promising OCS drilling sites are 100 miles offshore; moving the crude ashore could prove an even tougher obstacle than assuring a blowout does not occur.—D.W.

threats were made on her life. At the urging of the FBI, Blake left the state.

To the north, in Prudhoe Bay, the environmental problems are no less severe. 1988 DOI reports on the environmental impact of North Slope drilling show a significant decline in predators, including polar bears and wolves, and a loss or displacement of over 20,000 birds. Additional reports by the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) show that tons of toxic materials from drilling operations are dumped directly onto the tundra, where they kill all vegetation and leach into the groundwater, or onto ice floes, where they become part of the food chain. The indiscriminate dumping is partially due to lack of oversight (the EPA has handed regulation of the North Slope over to MMS) and partially due to the fact that, for much of the waste, no regulations have even been promulgated.

Where enforcement should exist, there is none: There are 1,000 drilling mud pits on the North Slope; about 97 percent of the pits that are required by law to have permits do not have them.

And the much-lauded Trans-Alaska pipeline also merits environmentalists' attention. According to a report released in May by the General Accounting Office, Alyeska has failed to adequately monitor the pipeline's environmental performance. The report points to a leak detection and spill response system that doesn't work, as well as undetected pipeline, tank and pump station corrosion.

"They're sitting on the economic damage studies from the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill, they don't want a task force to look into the pipeline [mandated by the Oil Pollution Act of 1990], they've squelched the extent of the damage in Prudhoe Bay," said an exasperated Ott. "How can the public accurately calculate what risk they want to subject themselves to without this information?"

REDLINING

Plans for oil development in northern Alaska include thousands of miles of new pipelines and roads.



ART DAVIDSON, AUTHOR OF *IN THE WAKE OF THE EXXON Valdez*, writes, "The story of the wreck of the *Exxon Valdez* is indeed a story of addictions: not just a tanker captain's addiction to alcohol but widespread addictions to power, money, and energy consumption." In Alaska, that addiction—to money and power—was fostered in its infancy.

It was oil companies that, in 1958, tipped the balance when they threw their weight behind Alaska's bid for statehood. The reason: They preferred dealing with state and local bureaucracies—and, eventually, individuals—rather than federal bureaucracies in buying up the leases for oil-rich land in the Kenai Peninsula.

And it was the oil companies who, again, played a pivotal role in setting up a native corporate structure as the centerpiece of the largest settlement ever between the federal government and aboriginal people. Under pressure from oil companies to settle with the natives so Alaska could be opened up for oil exploration, Congress pushed through the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971.

Thanks to oil revenues, Alaskans pay no income tax. Instead, every man, woman and child is paid about \$1,000 annually in oil company royalties. "*Alaskans* are in a sort of conflict of interest," says ethics consultant Michael Josephson, who drafted Alaska's ethics reform package last year. "Because the check comes every year, they tend to vote for short-term gain for themselves over the long-term interests of the state. The result is that Alaskans are willing to tolerate a level of entrepreneurship in public officials not tolerated in most other parts of the country."

But the reach of Alaska's oil companies only goes so far; the rest of the country, which has a say in the use of the 67 percent of Alaska's 375 million acres that is federally owned, has yet to be persuaded of the merits of turning over the still-pristine regions of the state to oil exploration. For this reason, the "lower forty-eight" is both courted and disdained by Alaska's politicians.

HICKELISMS.

THEN AND NOW

Walter Hickel, 1971:

"Free enterprise allowed to run totally free will destroy itself."

Governor Hickel,

1991: "Government regulations should be road maps, not roadblocks."

Walter Hickel, 1971:

"Is it right to destroy the air and water and land that belong to all of us? This might make a business more profitable, but success that abuses other people's rights is not true success and is not acceptable to the public."

Governor Hickel,

1991: "As to keeping ANWR (the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge) untouched, I say, 'Virginity may be a commendable virtue. But life must go on!'"

To Alaska's approximately 500,000 fiercely independent residents, non-Alaskans are Outsiders (never mind that most Alaskans are recent transplants themselves compared to the 64,000 Native Alaskans). And Outsiders are to blame for a variety of Alaska's woes, including the regular economic downturns. Outsiders who are also environmentalists are given particularly venomous treatment by Alaska's politicians: they are, according to Alaska Senator Ted Stevens, "just hucksters, selling slick-backed magazines and national memberships" with Alaska as their poster child.

And now, Alaska's Senators Stevens and Frank Murkowski, its only representative Don Young (who told one scientist: "Environmentalists should be exterminated") and Hickel are fuming over Outsider involvement in two issues which, not coincidentally, are two top agenda items for the oil industry: convincing the rest of the country that 1) Alaska should open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for drilling, and 2) that Alaska is fully capable of averting any further environmental disasters.

Oil companies and their allies, including Hickel, have fought environmentalists for many years over drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. A stretch of land that encompasses Alaska's Brooks Range, braiding rivers and spongy tundra, the Arctic Refuge lies 50 miles east of the Prudhoe Bay oil fields, and extends north to the Arctic Ocean and east to the U.S.-Canadian border.

With the passage of the Alaska Lands Act in 1980, 1.5 million acres of the 19-million-acre refuge has been in a sort of statutory limbo while DOI has studied the potential impact of oil drilling on it. To the Hickel administration, the 1.5 million acres is a remote, worthless, mosquito-infested swamp. To the 7,000 Gwich'in natives the Arctic Refuge is, and has been, home for the last 10,000 years. It is also the calving ground for the migrating Porcupine caribou herd, on whom the Gwich'in depend for their survival. "We are a caribou people and are among the most threatened Indian cultures today," said Gwich'in leader Sarah James. "We depend on the Porcupine caribou not just for our food, but for our whole culture." In addition to caribou, the refuge provides critical habitat to grizzlies, musk oxen, wolves, polar bears, Dall sheep, arctic foxes, arctic ground squirrels and at least 142 species of birds.

Though oil companies were making headway in moving the Arctic Refuge out of statutory limbo and into their hands in the late '80s, the wreck of the *Exxon Valdez* forced all Alaskan oil company agenda items onto the back burner. For the time being,

Then came the summer of 1990. Iraq invaded Kuwait, and Alaska soon received a \$600 million windfall in oil profits from the war. Alaska's congressional delegation led the throng in clamoring for a "reliable" source of oil, and Hickel, promising that opening the refuge for drilling would bring renewed prosperity to Alaska, was elected to office.

OWNER STATE?

"I love those people who refer to it as 'our oil.' That oil was found by somebody—not the state—but it seems [the state has] spent time ever since trying to screw us [the oil industry] out of the deal."—Hickel appointee Harold Heinze

RESOURCES

Tracking Arctic Oil; by Lisa Speer, \$6. Natural Resources Defense Council, 1350 New York Ave., NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20005.

The Dinosaur's Path: The Exxon Valdez, Oil and National Security; \$2. Greenpeace, 1436 U Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009.

In the Wake of the Exxon Valdez; by Art Davidson, \$19.95. Sierra Club Books, 730 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA 94109.

The Oil Reform Alliance, c/o Alaska Center for the Environment, 519 West 8th Ave., Anchorage, AK 907-274-3621.

THE COMPANY TOWN: POLLUTION AND POLITICS IN SITKA, ALASKA

Politically and economically, Alaska is the final frontier. As in the Old West, the ordinary rules do not necessarily apply here. Some pollutants are barely regulated, and oversight of local industries is often minimal. And some communities, dependent on a single industry for survival, are loath to question what industry does to their land, air and water. The story of Sitka, a blue-collar town on Alaska's southeastern coast, exemplifies the tense relationship between Alaskans and Alaskan industry.

Sitka's Alaska Pulp Corporation (APC) mill has 400 employees, award-winning export sales—and one of the worst environmental records in the industry. APC was attracted to Sitka by low-paid labor and a cheap supply of logs from the surrounding Tongass rainforest. In 1959, the Forest Service gave 50-year logging contracts to APC and another mill, Louisiana Pacific of Ketchikan. The contracts guaranteed a steady flow of spruce and hemlock trees, a handout that has destroyed large tracts of old-growth forest in the Tongass, one of the country's last temperate rainforests.

Each year, APC consumes 105 to 120 million board feet of timber, usually targetting the forest's oldest trees in a practice called high-grading. While the Tongass Timber Reform Act of 1990 ended the special contract and forbade high-grading, the practice continues, with potentially serious impacts on Tongass wildlife and local subsistence users of the forest.

The mill has a long history of air and water pollution. A series of "variances" granted the mill by the EPA and the Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) allows many noncompliances with regulations. And some pollutants, such as dioxins, are simply not regulated at all by the EPA or the DEC.

APC's gravest offense was its dumping of dioxin-laced waste ash into Sitka's Silver Bay, an area essential to the local fishing industry. APC poured 40 cubic yards of the ash, collected from scrubbers on the mill's stacks, into the bay each day for three months in 1990. According to APC's own tests, dioxin levels in the ash were 70,000 to 150,000 parts per trillion. By comparison, the evacuation of Times Beach, Missouri, was prompted by levels of one part of dioxin per trillion in soil.

Yet APC sat on its information for three months and continued dumping, in what Carl Reller, former manager of Alaska's Superfund for the DEC, describes as a "knowing, willful and intentional violation of the Clean Water Act." When the practice was finally halted by the EPA in June 1990, the mill argued that because its permit did not specifically address dioxin, APC was free to dump it. "That's like saying you can burn down my house, because I didn't specifically tell you not to," comments Florian Sever, a former APC millwright. Now the ash is sent to a municipal landfill abutting Sitka's Verstovia Elementary School. The dump is not licensed as an industrial or a toxic waste landfill.

APC's pollution of Silver Bay is raising eyebrows among local fishermen. "We've seen the return rates of adult fish [herring and salmon] go way down," said one fisherman, who asked not to be named. Blue mussels, ubiquitous in the area, are absent in waters near the mill.

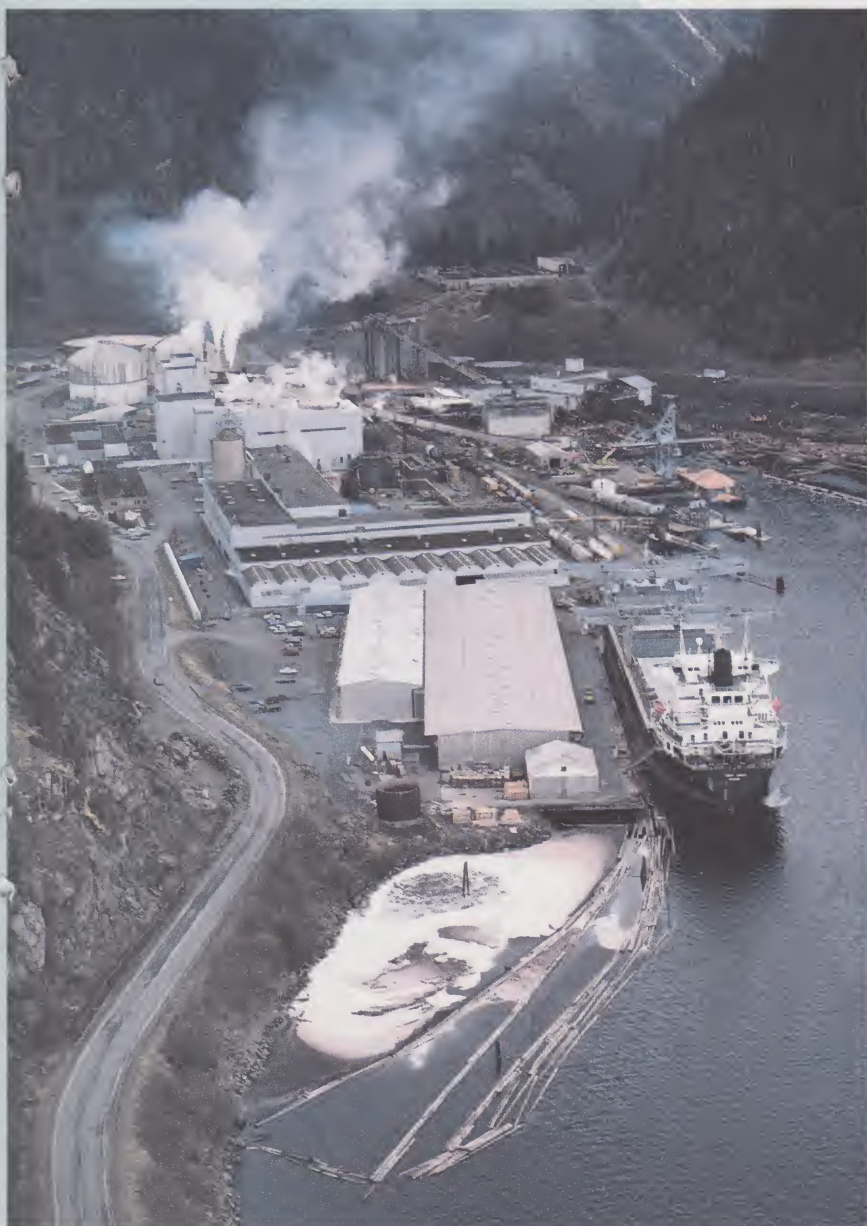
Over the years, APC has learned to manage its critics more effectively than its waste. After Florian Sever became involved in strikes at the mill and then testified before Congress in favor of the Tongass Timber Reform Act, he was dismissed from his job. The mill eventually broke the union. "I figure I'm blacklisted in this town," Sever sighs. "I couldn't even get a job as a dogcatcher."

Sever's woes are not unique. Local media also bear their scars from tangles with the mill. In February, APC Assistant Mill Manager Gary Bowen sent a petition to Governor Hickel accusing KCAW, Sitka's public radio station, of "biased" reporting and demanding that funds for it be cut. KCAW has run stories on environmental problems at the mill.

Yet KCAW garnered 20 percent more donations from Sitkans in the wake of Bowen's petition. Such incidents suggest that APC's hold on the town may be slipping. "A lot of us are environmentalists," observes Tom Jacobson, a local dentist. "We're gradually changing to a higher awareness." Even the EPA has begun to shake off its apathy. APC's dioxin dumping prompted a major environmental investigation of the mill last summer, and charges may be filed later this year.

—by Laura Harger

Dirtiest in the industry?
Sitka's Alaska Pulp
Corporation mill.



Hickel doesn't have to worry about convincing the White House; he has the firm support of Texas oil man and president, George Bush, who declared earlier this year that no national energy strategy would win his approval unless it included the opening of the Arctic Refuge.

Still, there is the American public, and they have yet to be convinced. The vast majority of Americans support tapping energy efficiency and renewable energy as primary sources of new energy—they are skeptical of claims that sacrificing the nation's dwindling wilderness is necessary for "our way of life." And the ghost of the *Exxon Valdez* still haunts the nation.

TWO HURDLES REMAIN IN THE WAY OF HICKEL'S LONG-TERM plans for Alaska. The first is the taint of the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill on the public's perception of the industry. The second is the hundreds of lawsuits filed by injured parties against Exxon. To help move things along, the Bush administration dispatched two cabinet secretaries and the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to negotiate an agreement between Exxon and Alaska. With the help of Alaska's Attorney General Charles E. Cole, a final settlement package was reached in March: Exxon would pay \$900 million. In return, the state of Alaska would drop all but \$100 million in future lawsuits against the oil company. Exxon has made more money in 1991 than any other company in the United States; the settlement, paid out over 11 years, would amount to less than 1 percent of Exxon's 1990 \$117 billion earnings. Hickel and Exxon were elated.

But one month later, over Cole's protestations, the federal government released a summary of government studies on the effects of the spill. The picture Exxon had tried to paint, of a recovered Prince William Sound with record salmon runs and soaring bald eagles, was demonstrably false. Though salmon were showing record runs, the spill's toxic legacy would not show up for another year or more when they returned to spawn. Some bald eagles were soaring, yes, but at least 144 bald eagle carcasses were found, and scientists predict it will take years for their populations to rebound to pre-spill levels.

The reports were devastating to Exxon. More wildlife was damaged and killed in this spill than in any other known industrial accident. Seals were brain damaged. Fish larvae were mutated. Possibly 300,000 murres, a slow-breeding diving bird, were wiped out; many survivors, along with other birds, failed to reproduce. Some 5,500 sea otters died, and more continue to die from eating contaminated shellfish. Some 22 out of 122 killer whales living in the sound perished. There is widespread damage to kelp forests, an important source of food for marine life, and to other plants in tidal zones along 1,200 miles of the western boundary of the sound and down into the Gulf of Alaska.

continued on page 26



GEORG WILHELM STELLER, THE FIRST white man to set foot in Alaska, described the northern (Steller) sea lion for science in the spring of 1742. Two marine mammals ended up with his name, the North Pacific (Steller) sea cow, a cold water relative of the manatee, and the Steller sea lion. Because of its tameness, its total lack of fear of humans and the reputed tastiness of its flesh, the sea cow was extinct only 26 years later. Now, 250 years after its discovery, the same fate may await his sea lion.

Scientists have tried to determine for years why the Steller sea lion is disappearing so quickly. Stellers fall victim to the same hazards that plague all marine mammals—entanglement in pieces of plastic, nets and other marine debris; drowning in the nets of fishing fleets; disease; and shooting at the hands of the fishing fleets. But most scientists doubt these are sufficient explanations. “There’s no precedent for a decline of this scale for any similar species,” says Richard Merrick, wildlife biologist with the National Marine Fisheries Service’s (NMFS) National Marine Mammal Lab.

As researchers eliminate the other possibilities, it is becoming apparent that something is devastating the sea lions’ food supply. And the main competitor for the Stellers’ food is the massive new factory trawlers that are scouring the North Pacific. Because of these fleets, which take billions of pounds of fish out of the ocean each year, an entire species of marine mammal is slowly starving to death.

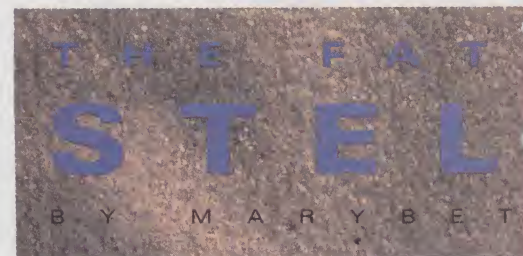
WHILE STELLER SEA LIONS RANGE FROM CALIFORNIA to Japan, nearly three-quarters of the world’s population inhabit Alaska’s waters. It is here that sea lions have disappeared at an alarming rate. In one “index area,” extending from the Kenai Peninsula to Kiska Island in the Aleutians, they have declined 63 percent in the last five years and 86 percent in the last thirty—from more than 140,000 in 1960 to fewer than 25,000 today. Worldwide, the population has declined from 300,000 in the 1950s to only 66,000.

Marine biologists are now looking at the Stellers’ shrinking food source. The remaining animals are malnourished, smaller, anemic and

show reduced birth rates. While Stellers subsist on several types of fish, more than half of their diet consists of one species of fish—pollock. Other marine life in Alaska that rely on pollock are also suffering. Harbor seals are declining at a rate dangerously parallel to that of the sea lions, and may be next on the endangered species list. Fur seal populations are in trouble. Seabird species such as kittiwakes and murrelets are also decreasing. “We think the sea lion is an indication that there’s something wrong in the ecosystem,” says Merrick.

The culprit is most likely the burgeoning trawl fishery in the Bering Sea and Gulf of Alaska—a fishery that supplies fast-food fillets, imitation crab legs and highly prized roe to Japan. In the same five-year period that the population of sea lions has declined by 63 percent, the number of factory trawlers has increased six-fold.

But all efforts to rein in the massive multi-million-dollar ships have proven fruitless. The



fishery is “managed” by the North Pacific Fisheries Management Council, a body comprising industry representatives and political appointees. “Seven of the eleven voting members are either owners or on the payroll of the industry,” says Dr. Feney Matthews, a fisheries scientist with the Aquatic Resources Conservation Group (ARC). “Few people on the Council speak for the long-term health of the ecosystem. Most just respond to the short-term desires of the industry.”

THERE IS NOTHING QUITE LIKE FACTORY trawler fishing. In 1986, 12 factory trawlers worked Alaska’s waters. Today, more than 70 of these ships, some longer than a football field, drag thousand-foot nets for miles over the ocean floor every day. These mammoth vessels routinely haul in over 500,000 pounds of fish a day. In scooping up close to 4.4 billion pounds of bottomfish each year, the trawlers destroy shellfish, other bottomfish, the entire seafloor



Dwindling Steller sea lion populations on Marmot Island, Alaska: 1969, 1983 and 1986.

habitat. "There might be 350,000 pounds of fish in one trawl," says Bo Bricklemeyer, senior counsel for Greenpeace's ocean ecology campaign. "The numbers are astronomical, and it must be playing hell with the natural balance."

The trawler nets also sweep up fish that are the non-targeted species or are too small for their processors. Most of these unwanted or prohibited fish (among them halibut, salmon and crab) are dumped back into the ocean—dead. The North Pacific Fisheries Management Council estimates that as much as 600 million pounds of bottomfish will be tossed overboard by the end of the 1991 season. In the spring comes even more waste, as trawlers hone in on roe-bearing pollock. Though stripping the roe and dumping the pollock is now illegal, trawlers still target the roe-bearing females and dump the males and other fish.

Merrick and others think the smaller fish and the high-protein, roe-bearing females in the spring are what's missing from the sea lion's

this year. The Council claims the increase is warranted because new survey data show more pollock in the Gulf than they had thought.

But these data are sketchy at best. This is only the second year that observers have been on board to document the waste, and their figures provide a small piece of the picture. "We really don't know half of what is going on out there," says Greenpeace Marine Species Coordinator Stephanie Moura. Surveys estimating fish abundance are usually conducted once every three years. "[The accuracy of the surveys] is absolutely critical for everything," says Dr. Hans J. Hartmann, an oceanographer with ARC. "If we don't know this then it's not possible to set any kind of criterion for fishing."

Not until last November was the sea lion listed as threatened under the Endangered Species Act. Despite its new legal status, the Steller sea lion has gained little protection. Greenpeace and other groups are threatening to sue if the new pollock quotas are put in place without sufficient analysis of their effect on the sea lions' food supply. In February 1991, the Steller sea lion recovery team released a detailed recovery plan but it misses the point. As usual, the cornerstone is more research. There are no specific fishery-related recommendations, even though an in-house NMFS document had recommended nine restrictions on groundfish trawl fisheries to save the Stellers.

Bo Bricklemeyer has called for aggressive investigation and prosecution of all shooting incidents, an end to disturbances at rookeries, a designation of critical habitat and reduction of incidental takes to zero. Most importantly, he says, there must be an adequate food supply. "This may mean fishing restrictions, seasonal closings and even large-scale temporary prohibitions on fishing in some areas," says Bricklemeyer. "Clearly, business as usual is no longer acceptable."

"The problem is there's a huge economic force and political power out there now," says Hartmann. Merrick agrees: "The fishing industry has so much power, and the sea lions have a hard time standing up to it." Alan Reichman, Pacific Fisheries campaigner for Greenpeace, calls the massive factory trawlers "the last of the hunter-gatherers, except that they are the size of a football field, have high-tech sonar fish-finders and cast nets two acres wide. The fish, and the sea lions, don't stand a chance." □

WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE?

Imagine for a moment that there is no U.S. Forest Service. In its place is an appointed council made up of people in the timber industry who decide how many trees should be logged in the national forests each year. And suppose that our fictional timber management council decides to make 10 billion board feet available every year, and decrees that anyone with a chain saw can cut down trees—for free.

At the stroke of midnight on New Year's Eve, swarms of lumberjacks crash into the woods, felling everything in their path until the quota is reached. Since the trees are free, more and more loggers show up each year—using more and more sophisticated equipment. Soon, boom gives way to bust as the industry develops the capacity to harvest and process many times the official limit, and the timber season dwindles to just a few months. Faced with the threat of bankruptcy, some sectors of the industry lobby for limits on the number of loggers. As the forest disappears, others clamor for access to more trees. Meanwhile, the animal population in the forest shows signs of the decline.

The potential for abuse under such a system seems painfully obvious. Free timber? Unfettered access? In this age of dwindling natural resources, the public surely wouldn't stand for it.

Unfortunately, such a system does in fact exist—not in our national forests, but in our coastal waters. Substitute "fish" for "trees" and "fisherman" for "loggers" and you have a reasonably accurate description of how the U.S. fishing industry is managed. Throughout the country, the results have been ravaged fish stocks, bankrupt fishermen and consumers who have been robbed of the chance to buy fish at reasonable prices. It is a boom-and-bust system that grows to the bursting point and then collapses under its own excesses. At present, a major segment of the North Pacific fishing industry is poised on the edge of just such a collapse. "We act as if we live in the 18th century while using 21st century technology," says Bricklemeyer. "The laws that let this happen, like the Magnuson Act, are going to have to be overhauled, or we can forget about the sea lions and the whole Pacific ecosystem."—*Todd Campbell*



Factory trawlers—"clearcutters" of the sea.



diet. Smaller pollock are the only size the young sea lions can handle; the spring concentration of spawning fish are easy to catch and provide high nutrition at a crucial time—when female sea lions, having just weathered the harsh winter and newly pregnant, are still nursing last year's pups.

"We've had 100 years of hook-and-line fishing here," says Linda Behnken of the Alaska Longline Fisherman's Association, which wants to keep factory trawlers from invading their southeast Alaska fishing grounds. "Our environment is in good shape. But trawlers have demonstrated that their technique isn't ecologically sustainable. In a sense, they are clear-cutting the oceans."

Too many expensive boats chasing too few fish—that in a nutshell describes the overstressed fisheries of the North Pacific. Nevertheless, the Fisheries Council wants to raise the Gulf of Alaska pollock quota by 82 percent

JOHN RENSENBRINK

John Rensenbrink is a retired professor of political science, a Green organizer, and author of Poland Challenges a Divided World and the forthcoming The Greens and the Politics of Transformation. He teaches a seminar on ecology and democracy at Bowdoin College.

The question that I am often asked is less charitable than "Why not here?" Instead, people demand to know why I think Green politics has even a flicker of a chance in the United States, given this country's addiction to consumerism, its cynical disregard for politics, the pervasive dominance of corporate power and the uniformity of the media.

They are right, at least in part. Nothing so fundamentally radical as a sustainable Green future for the world will be fashioned easily. But the United States also provides unique opportunities for Green politics. The tradition of individualism and of personal initiative allows new ideas to flourish. There is an incredible variety of vital "underground" political activity taking place around environmental and progressive social issues. And we have our uniting issue, the environment, which is not going away. Green thinking includes all of these, which means that Green politics, in theory, already has a large and active constituency.

It is the Eastern European experience that may prove most instructive for American Greens, rather than the parliamentary politics of Western Europe. Poland's Solidarity and Czechoslovakia's Civic Forum were nurtured and eventually prevailed in a situation of monopoly power in the economy, in politics and in the media, with only token opposition permitted by the Communist Party. In the United States, the homogenous media, overarching corporate power and the winner-take-all electoral system just as effectively stifle alternative politics.

Solidarity and Civic Forum were able to form a coalition of many political stripes precisely because there was an overarching issue that united them—in the case of Czechoslovakia, the political and social oppression of the Communist regimes. Viable Green politics can be established in the United States if a coalition—or, better, a composition—of social concerns is brought together in a way that strengthens us rather than fragments us. To do

WHY NOT HERE?

PROSPECTS FOR GREEN POLITICS IN AMERICA

WHEN, AND HOW,

WILL THE GREENS

TAKE ROOT IN THE

UNITED STATES?

A PRESCRIPTION

FOR THE '90S.

this, we must be able to feel the real human pain that is the result of poverty, racism, sexism and the myriad injustices in the industrialized world.

At the same time, we must acknowledge the pain being inflicted upon the earth, pain from the brutal exploitation of nature. Awareness of this will enable us to affirm the fundamental value of ecology and of a life of partnership among ourselves and with nature. From that perspective, there is no conflict between the fundamental value of our ecology and that of all the other political struggles taking place throughout the United States. In fact, there is a positive correlation. To succeed, Green politics must retain and deepen its overarching vision while avoiding becoming another abstract ideology.

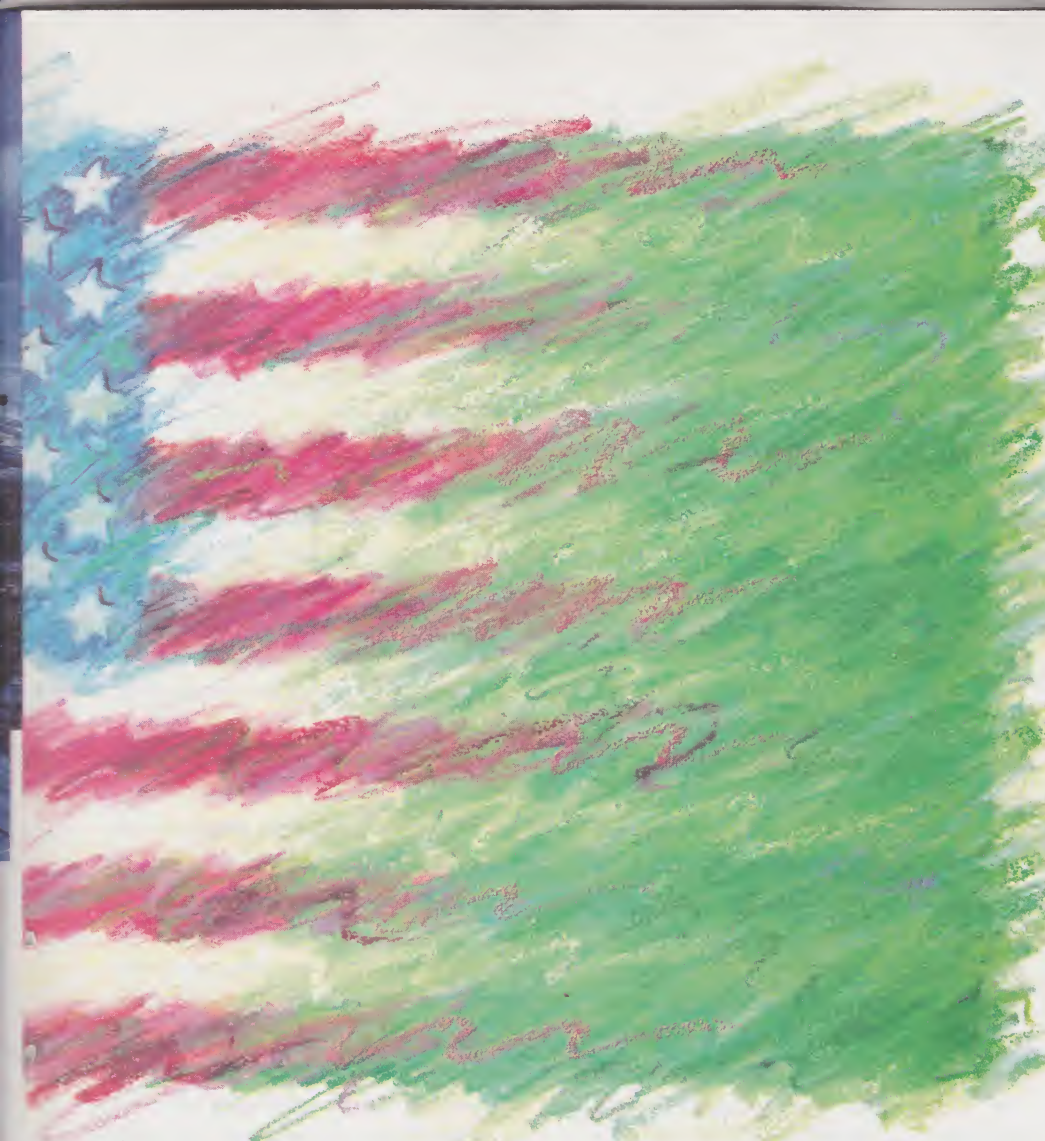
Green politics must remain an inspiration, a catalyst, a focal point for the political, social and personal aspirations of a growing portion of the American public. And it must shed its suspicion of power and leadership and permit competent leadership to emerge—not

the command-style leadership many understandably resent, but leadership as a manifestation of that part of all of us that wants the group to succeed, that is committed to having a sustainable and just society emerge. We can create a new ethos of fellowship and cooperation. In this way all people and all groups can be united and yet remain dynamic and autonomous. It is a big order, but it is the only way.

SARA PARKIN:

Sara Parkin is International Liaison Secretary of the Green Party in the United Kingdom and the co-secretary of the European Greens.

Why not here? After all, it was the "New World" that provided the inspiration for the European Green movement. American writers and thinkers such as Fritjof Capra and Theodore Roszak put the intellectual props under our Green stirrings. Europe's Greens have benefited from the parliamentary system, allowing representation in a way that America's winner-take-all con-



tests do not. But that does not fully explain why America has failed to build on its rich Green intellectual heritage. Your country's political hurdles are hardly greater than those faced by Greens in the Soviet Union, India and China.

In my mind, the slow start of America's Green movement is not unique, and in fact parallels the problems that plague Greens everywhere, most recently Germany's Die Grunen. Few members of the Green movement have managed to graduate from the slogans of the '70s to the scientific discourse of the '90s. Still fewer understand the distinctiveness of Green politics, nor do they appreciate the subversive nature of most Green solutions, or how fiercely those who benefit from the status quo will fight back.

Greens everywhere seem very naive about power and its dynamics. Ignoring power does not make it go away—it simply allows it to fall into the hands of others. A lack of internal organization has made some organizations vulnerable to takeover either by the terminally

confused old Left or lost souls in search of an encounter group, or both, or more. As debate is diverted away from the ecological crisis and toward the egocentric concerns of individuals, the movement becomes paralyzed by what I call "the dictatorship of the lowest common denominator." The emergence of one or two exceptional individuals only serves to highlight the problem. Power may tend to corrupt, but ignoring power does seem to corrupt absolutely.

Greens must look ahead. Instead of preparing for the massive swing to Green ideas, and positioning themselves to take power for the good of the world, most are content to hope for a few percentage points of greater appreciation each year. The failure to give the ecological crisis its proper place in Green politics and confusion over the electoral role of a Green Party means that the Greens are being marginalized as even their issues are being taken up by society. Politics is about power. Greens should want power, in order to forward their ideas.

It is true that the success of Green politics depends on a shift of values unprecedented in the history of mankind. However, unless that shift can be given a political framework in which ordinary people can have confidence, then we can only fail. The prospects for Green politics in America depend ultimately on how soon a sufficient number of people are willing to take Green politics up.

CARL ANTHONY

Carl Anthony is on the faculty of the College of Natural Resources at the University of California in Berkeley, and chair of Berkeley's City Planning Commission. He is president of the Earth Island Institute and directs the Institute's Urban Habitat program.

What concerns me most about Green politics in the United States is the casualness with which its advocates address interests, ideas, issues and experiences of the 60 million people of color who make up 25 percent of this country's population. These Latino, African-American and Asian-American communities are among the most dynamic elements of American society. Yet they are treated as an afterthought by most European-American environmental thinkers and strategists here.

It seems to me that this oversight, and the great difficulty of Green organizing in the United States, arise from our inability to invent political forms that harmonize the rich diversity of our population groups and landscapes. The 10 key values (10 tenets loosely agreed on by a majority of U.S. Greens) tend to screen out strong emotional attachment to place and blur, rather than heighten, our grasp of important distinctions of social class and community character. To take one example, it is common ecological wisdom that we should eat lower on the food chain, but the culinary practices, water resources and politics of the barrios of East Los Angeles are fundamentally different from those of rural dairy towns in Wisconsin. Cancer Alley along the lower Mississippi is not only a toxic wasteland; it is also a cultural hearth, poisoned by poverty as well as toxic waste, of Louisiana's African-American community. And it is radically unlike the equally polluted and poor Chippewa communities some 2,300 miles upstream.

To engage the wisdom, intelligence and

goodwill of these communities, Green politics must acknowledge and actively embrace this cultural, ethnic and geographic diversity. The principle of social justice must be at the heart of efforts to restructure urban and rural environments to protect and restore precious natural resources—land, air, water, biological resources and energy. These principles require an understanding of which social classes and population groups benefit, and which bear the burdens of our wasteful exploitation of natural resources.

It may be a mistake to imitate the organizational forms that have achieved success in Europe. The United States is different geographically, politically and culturally than the nations of Europe. Deference to the European experience makes Green politics particularly inaccessible to people of color here who understandably feel an emotional affinity with the struggles of non-European peoples around the world. Ward politics in South Chicago may prove a more reliable bellwether of what is a viable Green politics in this country than parliamentary maneuvers in Bonn or Madrid.

To be successful in the United States, Green politics must recognize and embrace the cultural diversity of the people who live here, learn to value and respect fundamental differences and find, through cooperation and dialogue, a common ground on which to build trust and mutual respect.

KIRKPATRICK SALE

Kirkpatrick Sale is author of Human Scale, Dwellers in the Land, and most recently, The Conquest of Paradise, a book that explores the legacy of Christopher Columbus.

There are two large answers to "Why not here," neither of which gives much encouragement to those who, like me, have been trying to make Green politics happen in this country.

The first is more or less technical, a combination of some hard and uncomfortable facts. There is no proportional representation in America, on any level, and minority parties do not get into office or have access to the kind of funding provided by European electoral systems. This makes the task for third parties almost insuperable, one made all the worse by the fact that all such efforts naturally meet the considerable resistance of the two established

parties, whose operatives are in charge of the petition, authorization, registration and voting processes. National organizing is made difficult by the vastness of this country and the timid and homogenous national media.

The second is more or less political, or perhaps philosophical. The people attracted to the American Green banner over the last five years did not start from and have not achieved (and may not even want) a coherent political philosophy behind which to organize. The movement has instead taken as its model the amalgam of politics by which the German Greens began, trying to join disparate forces with disparate political interests into a coalition. This has left the Green movement as a loose connection of local organizations, and these no more than gathering places for anyone with vaguely left-liberal politics and a concern for the environment.

That said, I still believe there is a potential role for Green politics in America. I think it is possible to imagine that, as time goes on and the environmental crises multiply, there will arise a need for a specifically ecological politics, grounded in such principles as bioregionalism and biocentrism. The Greens may see themselves as the public, the active, the electoral arm of that politics: the people debating the state fish and game departments, lobbying the legislative committees, pressuring town zoning and planning boards, putting up school board and water district candidates, running for town councils. Not by fiat but simply by experience will arise the two essential ingredients of such a politics: first, that it is local (statewide at most), ensuring that as many decisions as possible are made at the local, even neighborhood, level; second, that it understands environmental issues, and especially the protection and preservation of natural systems, as its primary political agenda.

While I say it is "possible to imagine" such a Green role, I am not convinced by any means that it is a certainty. It will require a sense of modesty that many nationally minded young activists do not possess; an acceptance of small victories that the instant-gratification generation finds difficult; a single-minded focus on ecological questions that the loose umbrella coalitions have not been capable of. And it will take a much more earnest and apocalyptic understanding of the perils we face, of the cul-

tural forces that cause them and the wrenching difficulties of escaping them than I have found in Green circles I have seen in the last decade. Still, I do not know any other way to go.

PETRA KELLY

Petra Kelly is co-founder of Die Grunen, the West German Green Party, and was a member of Parliament from 1983 to 1990.

This past summer, I asked the same question at the conference of the National Organization for Women in San Francisco: "Why not here?" Why not create, here in America, a feminist, pacifist and ecological movement to start what has been long, long overdue—a new national political force. Yes, why not here—and why, in fact, has it taken so long?

There is no easy way, no easy road to developing a Green Party in the United States. It will be tough and will deter those who are not equipped to last through often endless, loveless debates about internal structures. It will bring back all the debates of the 1970s about careerism, rotation, mistrust of leading figures, grassroots democracy and "consensus" processes.

What will serve you is to look at Europe. Our American friends must learn from our own mistakes. Your leaders can be worn down through overwork. Or they can be neutralized through lack of support. Our rotation rule, designed originally to prevent stagnation among leaders, meant that well-known Greens could not run for office. The establishment of a core of professional leadership was ruled out. Please avoid intrigues. Die Grunen were nearly destroyed by endless infighting. We dealt with each other inhumanely, and the public was left with an image of a party crippled by infighting. American Greens must concentrate on changing themselves even as they concentrate on changing society.

But don't shy away from taking power. Green politics must put itself to the vote in the USA and become a political factor in all elections at all levels. Greens must field credible and competent candidates. There is a desperate need to expose the long-term societal failures of Democrats and Republicans alike in the USA. They have brought us to the brink of disaster. Greens must offer a clear and credible political alternative to American voters. □



M A R C H

23 Schwerin, Germany. Greenpeace and the Gruena Liga present a study that suggests waste avoidance, returnable packaging, recycling and composting as alternatives to the 20 waste incinerators proposed for the area.



26 Sydney, Australia. The BHP seismic testing ship, the *Western Odyssey*, repeatedly rams Greenpeace

inflatables as they interfere with BHP's 3-kilometer testing cable. Seismic testing disturbs southern

right whales and is a precursor to offshore oil drilling.

27 Greece. As Greenpeace opens its twenty-third national office, in Athens, the Greenpeace ship *Sirius* celebrates the occasion by welcoming thousands of visitors aboard at the ports of Piraeus and Thessaloniki.

27 Madrid, Spain. Activists blockade the entrance of the Ministry of Finance with 10 toxic waste barrels

decorated with the flags of the 10 countries that have exported toxic mercury-laden waste to Spain.

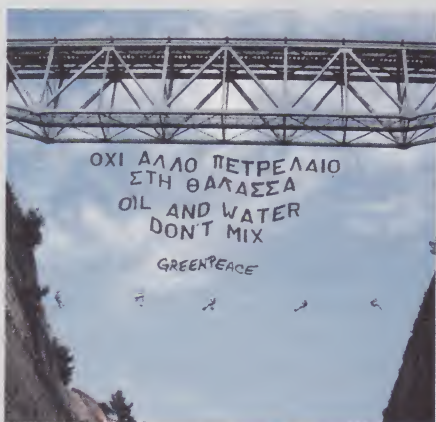
28 London. Greenpeace releases a report called *Mad Car Disease*, which reports that British road traffic has grown by 57 percent in the last decade and that pollution levels have

been recorded at almost double World Health Organization guidelines.

30 Galveston, Texas. Fishermen, local residents and environmentalists, including Greenpeace activists aboard the *Moby Dick*, form a flotilla in Galveston Bay to protest Texas Copper Corporation's proposed smelter.

A P R I L

1 Thessaloniki, Greece. Volunteers launch inflatable dinghies from the *Sirius*, then board and occupy an oil loading platform in the Thessaloniki Gulf to protest hydrocarbon and heavy metal pollution caused by oil refineries.



1 Aiken, South Carolina. Street theater activists playing the parts of a cracked nuclear fuel reactor and Department of Energy jesters commemorate Westinghouse's second anniversary of managing the Savannah River nuclear fuel plant.

More Oil In The Sea," to call attention to the Saronic Gulf, which is heavily contaminated with petroleum hydrocarbons from oil refineries.

garbage incineration in Dade, Palm Beach and Broward Counties, which causes deadly mercury contamination in Everglades National Park.

rams a Greenpeace jetboat trying to stop it from test drilling for a new natural gas pipeline through National Park Wadden Sea.

11 Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Two Greenpeace activists lock themselves inside of a steel box bolted to an Allied Signal rail line, in order to stop shipments of ozone-depleting CFCs from Allied's factory.



15 Rome. Greenpeace establishes a coordination team on the northern Italian coast to monitor the environmental effects of a tanker accident that is spilling thousands of tons of Iranian crude oil into the Mediterranean Sea.

18 Dunkerque, France. Dressed in radiation protection suits, activists chain themselves to two spent nuclear fuel casks to prevent the radioactive cargo from being transported to England on an ordinary passenger ferry.

a red fire engine run a ladder up the Brandenburg Gate and hang a banner that reads, "Energy for the East—Without Nuclear Power!"

5 Corinth Canal, Greece. Climbers hang beneath the bridge here and unfurl a banner that reads, "No

7 Miami. Greenpeace and local activists begin a week-long "Save the Everglades" march to call for an end to

8 Wadden Sea, Germany. The drilling vessel *Flunder*

23 Berlin. As west German nuclear power companies plan to conquer new markets in the east, Greenpeace activists aboard

29 Mobile, Alabama. Greenpeace and the United Paperworkers International Union expose the toxic pollution of International Paper and Scott Paper by creating a fountain where the companies discharge effluent into Mobile Bay.

M A Y

3 Salt Lake City. Greenpeace and local chapters of the Sierra Club, Audubon Society and National Wildlife Federation attempt to stop the roving "Cancer Cannonball" train from dumping its toxic cargo in a Tooele County, Utah, waste dump.

5 East Liverpool, Ohio. The Greenpeace bus begins its week-long tour of Ohio, where it will hold educational town meetings, show videos and participate in demonstrations with community groups fighting toxic waste incinerators.

5 Halifax, Nova Scotia. At an environment ministers meeting and press conference, Greenpeace steals the spotlight to present new Environment Minister Jean Charest with a 500,000-name petition that demands "zero discharge" of toxic pollutants.

7 Panama City Beach, Florida. Activists from the *Moby Dick* serve up "oil d'œuvres," "crud'etés," "petrol punch" and fact sheets at a beachside concession, to protest oil and gas development off of Florida's coast.

9 Chicago. Greenpeace releases abstract of *Waste Management Inc.: An Encyclopedia of Environmental Crimes and Other Misdeeds* and calls on socially conscious investment advisors and mutual funds to divest from the company.

11 Marshall Islands. Greenpeace activists sail the *Vega* into the impact zone of a United States "Star Wars" missile test and call on all nations to address the issue of cumulative effects of missile tests on the environment.



Hydro-Quebec's dams and turbines are turning the wild lands and rivers of the James Bay region into a mercury-contaminated flood plain.

SAVE JAMES BAY

IN THE REMOTE SUB-ARCTIC WILDERNESS OF James Bay, the provincially owned energy monopoly, Hydro-Quebec, plans to continue work on a hydroelectric project that would dam 11 major rivers and flood a wilderness area the size of Vermont. The project will dislocate the Cree and Inuit tribes; destroy millions of acres of rich wildlife habitat that is home to beluga whales, freshwater seals, moose and migratory birds; cause mercury contamination; and contribute to global warming through deforestation and the flooding of vegetation.

In theory, the scheme will help the province of Quebec become financially and politically independent. In reality, it is committing genocide on the native peoples of the James Bay bioregion. The best hunting and trapping grounds of the Cree Indians have already been destroyed by Phase I of the project, which

included damming three rivers. And fish are now poisoned with mercury (when trees, plants, soil and rocks, which naturally contain mercury, are suddenly flooded, massive decomposition and bacterial action create water-borne methyl mercury). Tests in several Inuit villages revealed that mercury levels in mother's milk registered at six times the World Health Organization's maximum safe level. Two-thirds of Cree children in the area tested positive for mercury poisoning.

To make matters worse, the utility monopoly is creating—not responding to—demand for energy. At an April press conference, Greenpeace campaigners Mark Sommer and Bernard Cantin presented evidence of a secret contract between Hydro-Quebec and a Norwegian magnesium company. The contract shows that Hydro-Quebec is selling electricity to multinational aluminum and magnesium corporations at prices below production cost in order to artificially boost energy demand to justify Phase II of the project. The press conference was broadcast over the border to Quebec by three Vermont television stations. A court injunction—lifted a few days after the press conference—had prevented Quebec's own reporters from revealing information about the sealed government contract.

After luring energy-intensive and dirty-metal-processing companies to the St. Lawrence River, Hydro-Quebec hopes to sell most of the remaining electricity to the northeast United States. It has already entered into two contracts with New York worth nearly \$19.5 billion, and signed a \$4 billion agreement with Vermont. Both states have until November 30 to cancel their contracts without penalty. To raise awareness about the New York contracts, Greenpeace, the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) and the James Bay Action Team hosted a teach-in in Greenwich Village, followed by a march through downtown New York, where Matthew Coon-Come, the Cree chief of the Grand Council, spoke to the crowd.

Later in April, Greenpeace held a protest outside an energy and environment symposium in New York, while anti-James Bay forces inside dominated the question-and-answer periods with utility officials. Then, in early May, at a dam-builders conference in White Plains, Greenpeace attempted to present the chairman of the board of the New York Power Authority with a special "Caribou Gram," urging him to pull out of the James Bay II contract. In a neighboring town, 45 Greenpeace Action canvassers stood atop a dam and held up giant placards that spelled out, "Stop the DAMAGE at James Bay!"

As opposition to James Bay II mounts in the U.S. and Canada, the coming months are likely to be decisive in determining the future of the project. For the Cree, their cultural heritage hangs in the balance. "They are telling the Americans this [electricity] is cheap and clean," said Robbie Dick, Cree Chief of Great Whale River Village. "But it's not cheap for us. When you turn on your switch, you're killing us."—*Judy Christrup*

• **What You Can Do:** Urge the following New York and Vermont officials to cancel their contracts with Hydro-Quebec:

- Governor Mario Cuomo, Executive Chamber, State Capitol, Albany, NY 12224; 518-474-8390.
- Chairman Richard Flynn, New York Power Authority, 1633 Broadway, New York, NY 10019; 212-468-6000.
- Governor Richard Snelling, 109 State Street, 5th Floor, Montpelier, VT 05609; 802-828-3333.
- Vermont Public Service Board, 120 State Street, Montpelier, VT 05620-2701; 802-828-2358.



ALLIANCE ON THE LAKES

THE ZERO DISCHARGE ALLIANCE—a bi-national network of grassroots organizations—would like Canada and the United States to live up to their 13-year-old agreement to stop toxic pollution from entering the Great Lakes basin. Activists in the Alliance have formulated a tough approach to the growing pollution problem in their region. “For us zero means zero,” their principles state. “Pollution must be prevented before it is generated.”

On this side of the border, regulatory standards are lax. The Clean Water Act (the major piece of legislation to deal with water-borne pollution) addresses “conventional” pollution such as grease, fecal bacteria and fertilizers. Under the act, pollutants are “treated” by settling them to the bottom of holding ponds and hauling them away as “sludge.” This end-of-the-pipe solution can combat foul odors and discolored water, but does nothing to eliminate persistent chemical toxins.

Chemicals are accorded the same rights as a citizen accused of a crime: innocent until proven guilty. Regulators operate on a “prove harm” theory that allows polluters to dump chemicals into the water until it is proven that a specific chemical can cause harm; after harm is proven, the emission of that chemical is restricted to “appropriate” levels. Of the 70,000 chemicals pumped into our water, fewer than 1 percent are regulated.

“If we wait until there’s proof—widespread evidence of permanent contamination—it’ll be too late; we’ll be over the edge,” says one of the members of the Zero Discharge Alliance, Rebecca Leighton of the Lake Michigan Federation in Green Bay, Wisconsin. “We may be over the edge already; perhaps the best we can hope for even at this point is to moderate the effects.”

The EPA, charged by Congress with enforcing the Clean Water Act, issues permits to industry, detailing how much of what chemical compounds can be released into water. The permitting program is called the National Pollutant Discharge Elimination System (NPDES), a name that many in the Alliance feel is a misnomer, as polluters have not been forced to eliminate any pollutants from their discharge. In a real sense, an NPDES per-

mit has become a license to pollute: Once a pollutant is listed on the permit, a polluter has the right to dump it without fear of reprisal.

Activists like Leighton see the current reauthorization of the Clean Water Act as their opportunity to get the zero discharge principle written into law, so they’re lobbying Congress. Greenpeace campaigners have joined them, and this July the *Moby Dick* begins its “Zero Discharge Tour” of the Great Lakes. One of the tour’s major focuses will be the region’s pulp and paper mills. The motto—“Chlorine-Free by ’93”—reflects Greenpeace’s goal to get chlorine out of the pulping process. Chlorine combines with organic compounds during pulp bleaching, causing some 450,000 tons of toxic organochlorine pollution each year (see editorial).

Organochlorines are bioaccumulative—as they move from the non-living environment (air, water, soil) into living things, they increase in concentration. What may be released in minute amounts from the outfall pipe of a factory or mill will be found in a greater concentration in aquatic plant life, and in a still greater concentration in fish. By the time these poisons reach the top of the food chain, they can carry doses hundreds of thousands of times higher than were originally dumped into the water.

Humans, at the top of the food chain, receive bioaccumulative chemicals in huge doses; human breast milk has become a collec-

tion point for the poisons of an industrialized society. “Such dousing of infant children with persistent, bioaccumulative toxins is a massive experiment,” writes Peter Montague of the Environmental Research Foundation. “The full results may become known in the future, but one thing is beyond doubt today: it cannot help the human species to expose it from birth onward to a constant bath of industrial toxins.”

Leighton wants the chain of poison to stop. “Zero discharge is more fundamental than treatment,” she says. “We have to get right back to before the manufacturing process and ban certain chemicals before they go in.” The concept of zero discharge reverses the burden of proof used under the concept of “prove harm.” Before a substance can be released into the environment in any amount, it must be proven that it will cause no adverse environmental effects.—Mark Floegel, *Pulp and Paper Campaign*

• **What You Can Do:** Write to the following congressional leaders and ask them to eliminate the discharge of persistent toxic pollutants when they reauthorize the Clean Water Act:

- Rep. Henry Nowak, Water Resources Subcomm., B370A Rayburn, Washington, DC 20515
- Rep. Robert Roe, Public Works & Trans. Comm., 2165 Rayburn, Washington, DC 20515
- Senator Quentin Burdick, Senate Env. & Pub. Works Comm., 458 Dirksen, Washington, DC 20510
- Senator John Chafee, Senate Env. Protection Subcomm., 410 Dirksen, Washington, DC 20510
- Senator Max Baucus, Senate Env. Protection Subcomm., 458 Dirksen, Washington, DC 20510



Pulp and paper poison



BANKRUPT FOREST POLICIES

Because of their frustration over Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) lending practices, Greenpeace activists in Washington thought that the bank's posh headquarters at 1300 New York Avenue might better serve as a forest. The March protest called attention to IDB's new forest policy, which could actually destroy millions of acres of primary forest in Latin America and evict native peoples from their homes.

• **What You Can Do:** Complain about the IDB's lending practices to: Enrique Iglesias (president) and Larry Nellinger (U.S. director), Inter-American Development Bank, 1300 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20577. Ask them to stop funding projects that destroy primary forests, to include indigenous peoples in forest-related policies and projects, and to share information about project proposals with all interested non-governmental organizations.



DEPARTMENT OF HYPOCRISY

THE DAY THE FBI RAIDED THE ROCKY FLATS nuclear weapons factory outside Denver, on June 6, 1989, Energy Secretary James Watkins said, "...it is my intention to operate DOE facilities fully in compliance with all pertinent statutes and in such a manner that the primary concern for environment, health and safety of employees and the public is satisfied." Two years later, Watkins' rhetoric rings hollow. Despite dozens of outstanding safety problems, DOE is pushing to restart Rocky Flats later this summer.

But Rocky Flats is no ordinary factory and these are not ordinary safety problems. In budget documents presented to Congress last February, DOE admits that the plant's fire and security alarm systems are "inadequate for the requirements of the Rocky Flats plant today and totally inadequate for the plant in the future," making it nearly impossible to "provide for mandatory fire protection, adequately insure life safety and responsibly protect the environment and public health..." DOE describes worker-warning alarm systems as "worn, failing, inadequate," and questions the usefulness of public address system announcements that "cannot be understood."

Senior DOE officials admit (and budget

documents confirm) that everything will not be fixed until at least 1998. To make matters worse, DOE is seeking about 80 waivers for its own environmental and safety orders, as well as industry standards. Other DOE officials say that the dire language in budget documents doesn't accurately reflect conditions at the plant. "Unless you make it sound horrible, [Congress is] not going to fund it," said Shirley Olinger, a DOE safety director at Rocky Flats. "You have to paint an exaggerated picture of why you need [federal funding]. To get funded, that's the game," she said.

Such mixed messages leave activists and plant workers worried and angry. Somebody at DOE is lying. Either the plant is as dangerously unsafe as represented in the budget documents, or DOE is conning Congress. Characterizing the dire language in the DOE's budget request as nothing more than a sales pitch shows DOE's continued insensitivity toward the concerns of Congress, the workers and the public. Workers at the plant are stuck in the middle, worried about unsafe conditions but afraid to raise concerns that could close the plant and cost them their jobs. Clearly no one should be forced to choose between their livelihood and their life.

—Steve Schwartz, *Disarmament Campaign*

• **What You Can Do:**
1) Write to your congressional delegation and ask that they oppose the resumption of bomb production at Rocky Flats until all worker safety and environmental problems are corrected. 2) Speak out and voice your opposition to further nuclear bomb production. The Department of Energy is holding nationwide hearings on its plans to modernize and/or relocate the bomb complex. July 10, Columbia, South Carolina; July 17, Idaho Falls, Idaho; July 24, Amarillo, Texas; July 31, Richland, Washington; August 21, Atlanta, Georgia; August 28, Oak Ridge, Tennessee. For further information, call the PEIS Task Force at 202-624-9351.



GOOD NEWS

On April 15, American Cyanamid, the target of numerous Greenpeace protests over its exports of mercury-laden wastes to polluting facilities in South Africa, agreed to stop the shipments because of the "fuss and furor" of the last year.

And on April 11, the environment minister of Ontario, Canada, Ruth Grier, announced that the province was banning all future municipal solid waste incinerators, a campaign goal of Greenpeace around the world. "Incineration is inconsistent with reduction, re-use and recycling because it relies on a steady, large quantity of mixed waste," said Grier. "It is a superficial solution which does not attack the root of the problem. We must waste less."

The United States, thanks in large part to the power and influence of waste-handling companies like Waste Management Incorporated and Browning Ferris Industries, is doing just the opposite and embarking on a vigorous program of incinerator construction.

OLD MESSES, NEW ATTITUDES

IN LATE APRIL, THE WORLD MOVED ONE STEP closer to protecting Antarctica as a wilderness continent when 39 countries agreed to a draft protocol that imposes stricter environmental rules, and bans mining activities for 50 years. The mining prohibition would continue after the 50-year mark unless the 26 nations that constitute the Antarctic Treaty's core decision-makers agree to suspend it. Greenpeace, in close association with the Antarctic and Southern Ocean Coalition, hailed the agreement as major progress, but it's clear that the fight isn't over yet.

The agreement does not have the explicit support of the U.S. government, and both the Economics Bureau of the State Department and the Department of Interior vocally oppose it. Not surprisingly, these are the same folks who championed the National Energy Strategy, which relies heavily on exploiting new sources of fossil fuels (see "Power Ploy," *Greenpeace*, March/April 1991). The implication is clear: Access to mineral resources is more important than preserving Antarctica as a world park.

Information gathered by Greenpeace's sixth expedition to Antarctica shows that any commercial mining would destroy the continent's fragile ecosystem. Human activity in Antarctica is currently limited to scientific research, tourism and the simple act of maintaining a political presence. And yet the relatively small number of people who have inhabited the area in the last 80 years have had a tremendous impact.

This year, Greenpeace visited six unused bases belonging to Britain, Chile and Argentina. At all but one, the expedition found that fuel, batteries and other hazardous materials had been left behind to weather the elements. At the old British facility on Deception Island, there were oil drums with perfectly sealed bungs and rusted-out bottoms. At Gonzalez Videla, an abandoned Chilean station, Greenpeace pumped oil from rusting barrels into new drums from its polar ship *Gondwana*, and then moved them into a shed for protection.

The most deplorable messes are not limited to abandoned stations. At Arturo Prat, one of the principal operating Chilean stations, the staff seemed to be saying all the right

things: they separate their waste and send it back to Chile; the protection of the Antarctic environment is a national priority. But outside, the Greenpeace expedition crew discovered an area they nicknamed "the field of death," which told a different story. Forty years of abandoned rubbish, burned trash and leaking fuel had turned a once-lush expanse of moss into a muddy morass of oily ash and garbage.

In hopeful contrast to this legacy of neglect, the 1990-91 expedition also witnessed some increased sensitivity to the environment. At the Argentine station Esperanza, the officer in charge began a clean-up, at Greenpeace's request, of an old dump located in the midst of a penguin colony. He also told Greenpeace that with the information they had given, he would try to cancel his order for an incinerator and procure a trash compactor instead. This would make it possible for the station to send all its waste back to Argentina.

—Dana K. Harmon, *Antarctic Campaign*

The Campaigns section is paid for by Greenpeace Action. Greenpeace Action is a sister organization of Greenpeace USA that promotes environmental protection and disarmament through grassroots organizing, education and legislation.

Greenpeace ship *MV Gondwana* returns from Antarctica.

PHOTO: BAKER/GREENPEACE





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Traces of oil derivatives were found in the gallbladders of pollock up to 600 miles away.

The people of the entire Kenai Peninsula, many of whom for centuries have subsisted on the now contaminated seafood, were outraged. They flew, drove and boated long distances to testify publicly in opposition to the settlement. Then, on April 24, Judge H. Russell Holland rejected the settlement as inadequate, saying that to do otherwise would send a signal to the oil companies that the relatively small settlement was merely the price of doing business in Alaska.

Wally's Achilles' heel had shown itself. And even Exxon can't hide a destroyed ecosystem. Many Alaskans, as well as millions of concerned people from the Lower 48, are not inclined to let the oil companies shrug off the largest oil spill in the nation's history so easily. Yet, for all of their resentment, state polls show that a majority of Alaskans support opening the Arctic Refuge for oil drilling. Exxon may be a criminal, but the seemingly populist appeal of Hickel's "owner state," and the promise, however remote, of another boom in Alaska's economy are apparently too much for many Alaskans to resist—which means, given the deregulatory climate in Alaska, renewed assaults on Alaska's environment and, in particular, more oil spills on the horizon.

Any good investment advisor counsels diversified investments. While the patronage of the oil companies may pump cash into Alaska, it may also end up destroying Alaska—and not just in the already experienced boom-to-bust cycles associated with oil-based economies. The longer term destruction, the one pawned off as benign by the real hucksters of Wally World, is one that, like the legacy of the *Exxon Valdez*, may take generations to overcome. □

CHEMFREE CHEMLAWN?

I would like to correct an error made by Bill Walker in his entertaining, but slightly "flacky" article "Green Like Me" (*Greenpeace*, May/June 1991).

For the record, ChemLawn does not make chemicals, as stated in the article. And Columbus, Ohio, does not "hate us," but knows us as a company committed to providing landscape care service responsibly.

Deb Strohmaier, APR
Manager, Public Relations
ChemLawn

Editor's note: True, ChemLawn does not make chemicals, it just spreads them across the lawns of America. Millions of pounds of chemical herbicides and pesticides were applied to residential lawns and gardens last year.

A PR VIEW

Bill Walker, who says he is your public relations person in an article called "Green Like Me" (*Greenpeace*, May/June 1991), leaves some erroneous and pejorative impressions of the program that some of my Fordham colleagues and I presented to the annual convention of the Public Relations Society of America.

He portrays the event as a callous, pro-Exxon, image over environment exercise that had little sympathy for dead birds, otters, etc. It was clearly stated that the discussion was not one of dealing with the environmental damages of the *Valdez* oil spill (though this was spelled out in great detail) but rather with the inept response of Exxon to a corporate crisis. The panelists clearly portrayed Exxon as an example of the worst in public relations, demonstrating a corporate arrogance that was not only bad public relations, bad for credibil-

ity, but also bad for its business.

I contend that my concern for our environment is every bit as strong as Bill Walker's. I would also contend that my concern for accurate reporting is a good deal stronger.

William Small
Larkin Professor of Communications
Fordham University

SUPPLY THE NATIVES FIRST

I live in Puna, Hawaii, seven miles down the coast from the stinking (literally) geothermal plant. My subdivision, as the majority of those on the Puna coast, lacks electricity. We are privileged to smell the electricity being generated for the bright lights of the tourist complexes, but none is given to the locals. I use a gas generator when I must use my tools, and it is noisy, expensive (over \$15 for eight hours) and produces fumes. We have been promised electricity for years, but have also been warned of hook-up costs exceeding \$3,000. Until all of Hawaii can have electricity so we can have the basics of living, like refrigeration (we must travel 14 miles to the nearest store daily for ice for our ice chest) we shouldn't be concerned that Honolulu can't have so many bright lights.

Bettie Van Overbeke
Pahoa, Hawaii

DIOXIN SCARE

"The Dioxin Deception" (*Greenpeace*, May/June 1991) hit me like a sucker punch to the stomach. If the intent was to shock me from Sunday morning complacency, it worked. I am still reeling from the grim statistics. The formerly nebulous danger of dioxin became sharply and coldly real.

Charles Denton
Mount Vernon, New Hampshire

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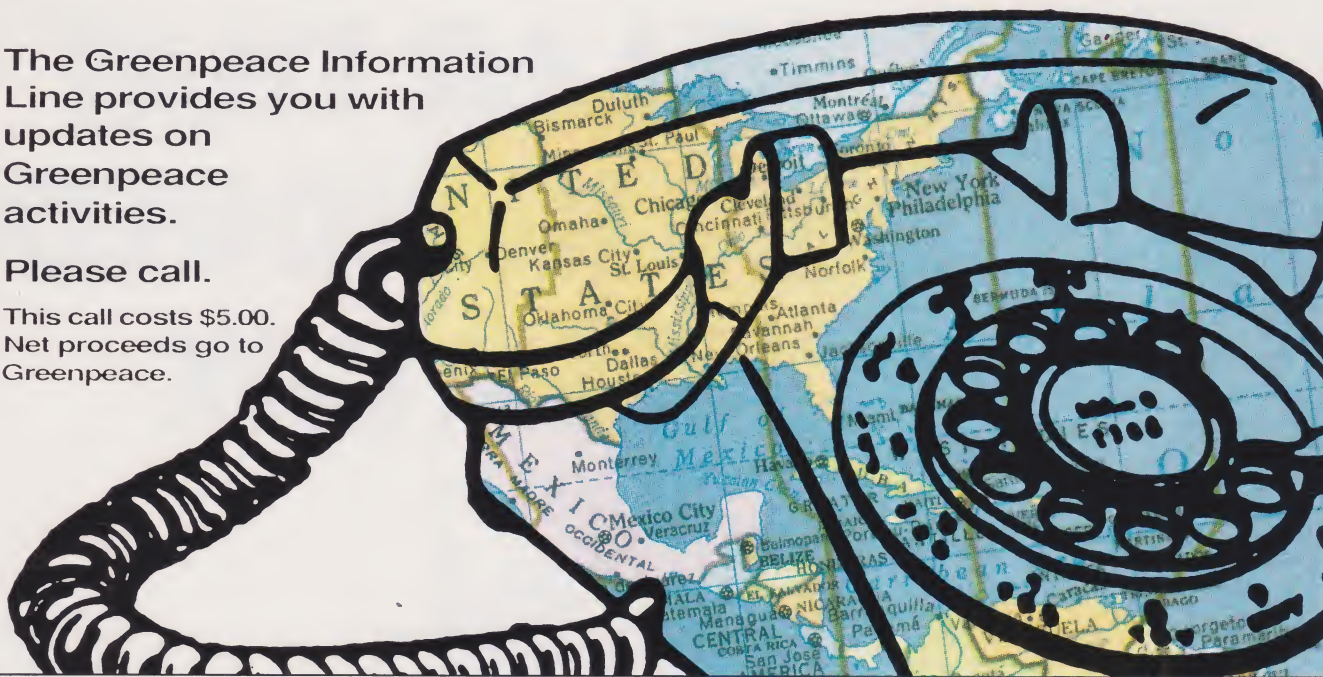
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